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the "poor potter" of yorktown:
a study of a colonial pottery factory
volume 1: history

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THE "POOR POTTER" OF YORKTOWN:
A STUDY OF A COLONIAL POTTERY FACTORY
VOLUME 1: HISTORY
COLONIAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK VIRGINIA



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Jean Belvin and Patricia Kandle typed and edited the final manuscript.

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PREFACE

The Yorktown Pottery Factory site is situated in Yorktown, Virginia, within Colonial National Historical Park. The factory had been operational in the c.1720-c.1745 period, on lots 51 and 55, located on the southern edge of the town. The factory was probably built in Yorktown for a variety of reasons, including the following: the availability of clay; the presence of a good harbor and thriving port; and the business potential of the Tidewater area.

The report to follow will tell the story of this fascinating and important pottery. The report is divided into three parts:

- 1). History, as surmised from historical documents and written sources. This part of the report will deal primarily with the life, land holdings, and business affairs of William Rogers, the probable owner of the Yorktown Pottery Factory. In addition, the relationship of English mercantilism and colonial manufacture will be discussed.
- 2). The Archaeology of the pottery factory, which will present, in detail, a description of the kilns, factory buildings and other features found through archaeological research during the period 1966-1982. In addition, comments will be made on the operation and appearance of the kilns in the 18th C., as well as their relationships to European kilns.
- 3). Ceramics. A discussion of the kinds of pottery vessels made at Yorktown, their characteristics, and distribution on the site. Inferred production techniques will also be discussed, together with the probable functions of vessels as used by the 18th C. community.

This final report details the results of research which has taken place over a period of 18 years. The majority of this research has been supported by the National Park Service. All contract objectives have been met in this report, with the exception of

archaeomagnetic dating, which was not done due to the crumbly nature of the kiln brick and the presence of the metallic structure covering the Large Kiln.

VOLUME 1. HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

In his study of the iron industry in colonial America, Arthur Bining noted that "the development of industry in the colonies has been considered of minor importance by historians, and few serious studies have been made in this field. The chief reason. . . may be found in the scattered nature of the sources."¹ A new overview of the economy of British America concludes that since 1933 historians, with some exceptions, have mostly continued to overlook colonial manufacturing industries.² This has been especially true in accounts of the southern colonies, which usually assume that manufacturing industries were either nonexistent, unsuccessful, or confined to the household.³ The scarcity of records and a predominant interest in the single-crop agricultural economy of most southern colonies have too often led to an overly simplistic view of that region's economy and to a failure to appreciate the variety of economic activity that existed before the American Revolution.

Manufactures and the Colonial Economy

Although tobacco cultivation was the single most important mainstay of the Chesapeake economy before 1776, recent studies have shown that a hitherto unexpected degree of economic diversification had developed in this region during the first three-quarters of the 18th C. Evidence is accumulating that many Chesapeake plantations were becoming increasingly self-sufficient, flexible units, capable of producing surplus commodities for local markets or even for export. When tobacco prices fell, planters were more likely to obtain at least some of the clothing, shoes, and tools they needed either by making their own or by getting them from a local manufacturer, thereby becoming less dependent on imported

European goods. Another aspect of this change may be seen in the beginnings of urbanization in the Chesapeake during the 18th C. A number of factors, including increasing population density, a more diversified economy, and the growth of a local market for goods and services, combined to encourage the formation of numerous rural villages and even a few towns around the periphery of the tobacco-growing areas.⁴

It is true that conditions in the colonies, and especially in the South, did not favor the development of manufacturing industries. Some local entrepreneurs, however, overcame problems with labor, capital, and marketing and began to exploit available resources to produce locally made wares of various kinds. These operations usually began in the older, more densely settled areas or near the new urban centers. Manufactures in the Chesapeake eventually ranged from the household production of textiles and clothing, to the processing of grain into flour and bread in commercial grist mills, to the casting and forging of tools and other iron products in furnaces and mills. The history of manufactures in the Chesapeake region, whether in the household, mill, or factory, and its importance to the growth of regional economic diversification is beginning to attract new attention. We need to know much more about these often elusive operations; how numerous they were, the variety of products made, their scale of production, and how successful they were. Answers to some of these questions will contribute to our understanding of how far the process of "proto-industrialization," the development of factory production from household manufactures, advanced in the southern colonies before the American Revolution. The history of the Yorktown Pottery Factory sheds more light on a part of this little understood and complex matter.⁵

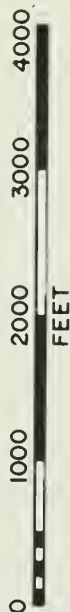
The "Poor Potter's" Kiln at Yorktown

The 1970 discovery of the bottom half of a potter's kiln under a garage in Yorktown, Virginia, may have come as a surprise to many people, but not to several archaeologists, curators and students of ceramic manufacturing in America. (Figures 1-3). As early as 1956, an archaeologist examining artifacts found there in the 1930's suggested that a potter had been at work in Yorktown in the 18th C. Then in 1957 a thick deposit of broken earthenware and salt glazed brown stoneware vessels and fragments of saggers was uncovered underneath Yorktown's main street. Finally, the accidental discovery nine years later of a large waster pit on town lot 51, filled with thousands of earthen and stoneware fragments, confirmed the suspicion that a kiln had once been located in the vicinity.⁶

The discovery in 1970 of the well-preserved kiln was in itself a significant and unusual archaeological find, considering the meager body of information on the colonial pottery industry and its technology, but it had been known for some time that earthenware potters had been at work in Virginia since the 1650s and possibly as early as the 1620s. Potters had also set up shops in New England as early as 1635 and in the mid-Atlantic colonies by the middle of the 17th C. What made the Yorktown finds initially surprising and important, even before the kiln was located, was that the artifacts included, in addition to the usual utilitarian lead glazed earthenwares, an impressive range of brown salt glazed stoneware vessels. A preliminary analysis of the stoneware vessels found at Yorktown concluded that they were very similar to and almost indistinguishable in quality from wares made near London at Fulham, Southwark, and perhaps Lambeth from the 1670s until the middle of the 18th C.⁷ The implication of this assessment was that the Yorktown potter was producing wares as good as any made in England. The questions of when the operation began and how long it lasted, however, remained largely unanswered.

In 1732, William Gooch, the lieutenant governor of Virginia,

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES in YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA



— DENOTES 1781 BATTLEFIELD
SIEGE LINES

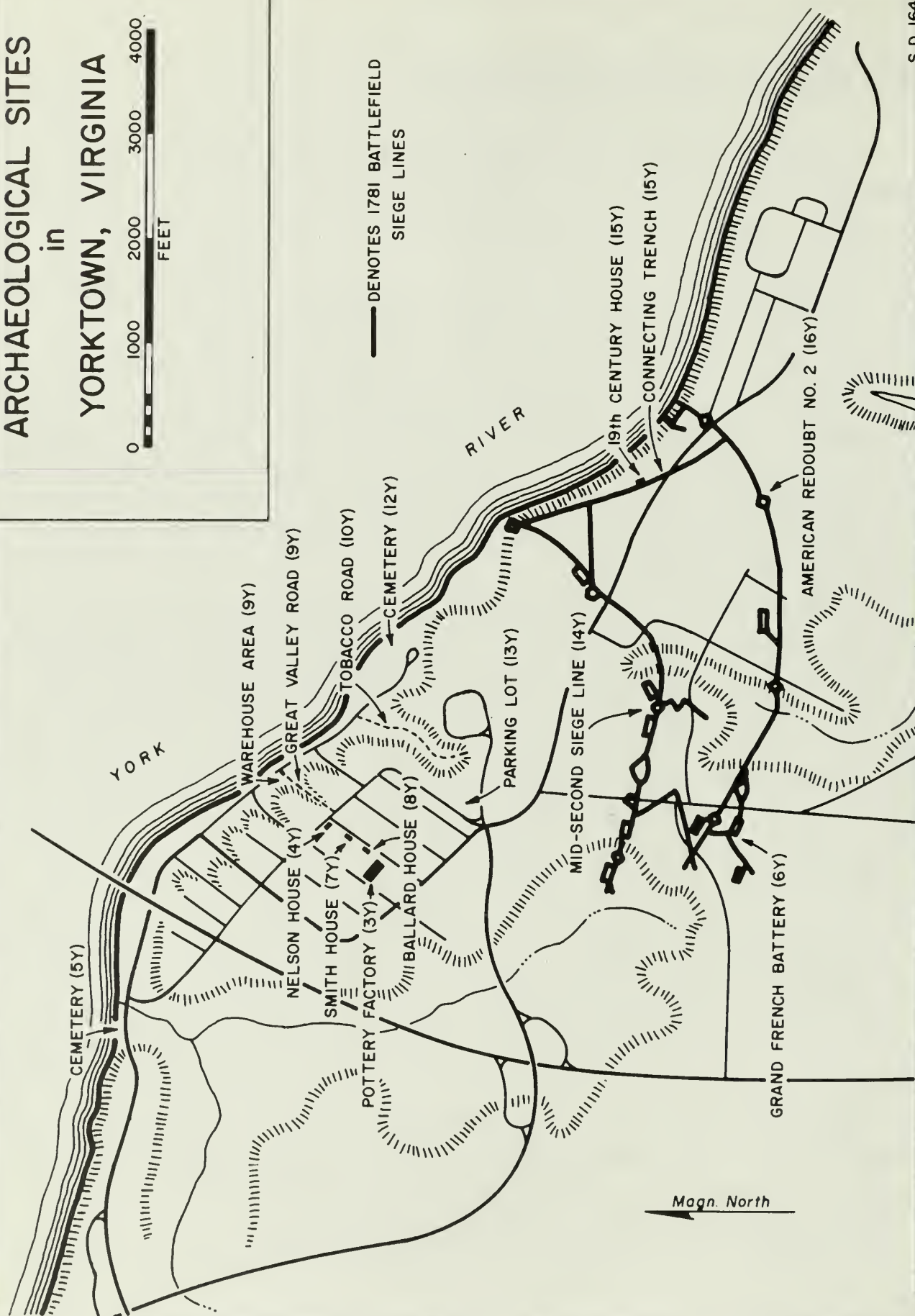


Figure 1

sent to the Board of Trade in England a reply to a long questionnaire concerning the state of trade and manufactures in the colony. This was the first of a series of reports Gooch would make over the next ten years on an almost yearly basis. In response to one query Gooch noted:

As to manufactures seet up, there is one poor Potter's work for course earthen ware, which is of so little Consequence, that I dare say there hath not been twenty Shillings worth less of that Commodity imported since it was sett up than there was before.⁸

Subsequent reports in 1733 and after identify the location of the "Potter's work" as Yorktown. Until 1741, when Gooch reported that the "poor potter" had died, he consistently described the operation as inconsiderable, unworthy of notice, and capable of producing only earthenware. As Malcolm Watkins has noted: "Clearly we, like the Lords of the Board of Treae, are led to believe that a semiskilled country potter was operating a small shop which produced crude pottery incapable of competing with English wares. The word "poor" can be interpreted doubly, connoting both poverty and low quality."⁹ At the most, archaeologists would have expected to find evidence of a small-scale household or domestic potter's kiln and shop that produced a limited range and quantity of unsophisticated lead glazed kitchenwares such as milk pans, butter pots, and perhaps bowls or pipkins.

Even before the first waster pits and, later, the kiln were found on Lot 51 between 1966 and 1970, Malcolm Watkins and Ivor Noel Hume had made an initial assessment of both the documentary and the archaeological evidence in an attempt to resolve some of the questions that had been raised. Their study was the first to establish a connection between William Rogers, and English immigrant and wealthy entrepreneur, and the manufacture of pottery in Yorktown. After reviewing all of the evidence available at that time, Watkins and Noel Hume argued that Rogers' pottery enterprise was a sizable, highly skilled operation of considerable value that made a wide range and impressive quantity of high-quality wares. They went on to suggest that the Yorkkown pottery works may have



Figure 2. The York River and Yorktown.



Figure 3. View of pottery site with garage and Childrey House. Looking south.

been one of the first in America to make stoneware and that William Rogers should be regarded as one of the pioneers of industry in Virginia.¹⁰

Since 1970 several seasons of intensive archaeological excavation on Lots 51 and 55 have not only confirmed these suggestions, but also have proved that the manufacturing complex was even more extensive and of greater significance than had been supposed, and that it could truly be considered a factory. Although less than half of the two town lots have been investigated, a number of features have been uncovered, including (1) a large, unusually well preserved kiln that had been used to fire salt glazed stoneware and lead glazed earthenware vessels (2) a complex of adjoining structures or rooms over 100 ft. long that served as the main workshop area of the factory (3) a smaller kiln that had been protected by a wooden post structure (4) at least three or four other post structures that probably served as either storage, workshop facilities, or domestic quarters (5) several large waster pits containing thousands of fragments of misfired stone and earthenware vessels.¹¹

In addition to uncovering a factory of a size and complexity that surprised almost everyone, the excavations also turned up a locally made dated earthenware porringer that indicated the large kiln was already in operation no later than 1720.¹² In effect, the archaeological investigations had established the existence of a substantial and successful fledgling manufacturing industry at a time and place that few historians, using documents alone, could have ever suspected. Since the manufacture of stoneware had been introduced in England only in the 1670's, the establishment of a comparable operation just fifty years later in Virginia was a remarkable development, one that poses a number of intriguing questions that have proved difficult to answer satisfactorily.

A historic structure report prepared for the National Park Service by Erwin Thompson in 1974 brought together all of the documentary and archaeological evidence relating to William Rogers and the pottery works and discussed it within the context of the

development of the pottery industry in Europe, England, and the English colonies in America.¹³ Thompson's report drew attention to several previously unknown documentary references concerning Rogers, but it also pointed out many other important questions that remained to be answered: What was Rogers' social and occupational background? When did the factory begin making stoneware? Who were the skilled and unskilled workers? How involved was Rogers in the day to day operations? How wide a market did Rogers' wares reach? Did the factory continue to operate after Rogers died?

The results of these initial research studies, taken together with the results of the archaeological work at the factory site, suggest that it may be necessary to begin a reevaluation of the role of industrial development in the southern colonies. Certainly the success of the Yorktown enterprise, its relatively long period of production, and the quality and quantity of its products are convincing evidence that manufactures in the South were more advanced at an earlier date than previously believed.

Research Strategy and Methodology

The archaeological field and lab work confirmed that the factory site was a highly significant find, one that would alter existing conceptions about the history of technology and industry in colonial America. Thus it became increasingly important to reevaluate all available sources of information concerning William Rogers and to utilize the documentary evidence in as many ways as possible to learn more about the man and his business affairs. The research strategy of this study was largely determined both by specific needs arising from the archaeological investigations and by the nature of previous research efforts.

An interpretive account of William Rogers and the pottery factory was needed that would (1) be based on a thorough examination of as many pertinent primary sources as possible (2) determine if those sources could help resolve some of the many questions

that remained unanswered, and (3) provide a comprehensive summary of what had been answered. This study was undertaken to meet that need.

Since none of his personal papers has survived, this report attempts to construct a biography of William Rogers that describes both his personal and his business life and traces the history of his career after 1710 within the context of the growth and development of Yorktown. A second goal has been to make available all relevant information that might make the results of present and future archaeological investigations more easily understood. A third aim of this study was to explain how and to what extent British imperial policy toward and regulation of colonial trade and manufactures affected Rogers' pottery business. A final objective was to describe and analyze some of the complex factors that influenced the establishment and subsequent operation of the Yorktown factory, how its products were marketed, and what led to its eventual closing.

The first phase of research concentrated on a careful examination of the York County records from 1700 to 1750, a period beginning ten years before William Rogers first appeared in Yorktown and ending ten years after his death. This approach was taken to locate every reference, no matter how slight, to Rogers and the people associated with him, and any reference to potters or the selling of pottery. During the 18th C. the local county courts regulated almost every aspect of people's lives (and were the only arm of government most Virginians ever came in contact with). The deeds, wills, inventories of deceased persons' estates, judgments and orders relating to criminal and civil cases, and records of administrative actions comprise the only documentary record that has survived of the lives of most early Virginians. As such, the county records contain a wealth of invaluable data, and those from York County are the single most valuable source of information on William Rogers, his life and his career.

As part of the search through the York County records all of the probate estate inventories, which list the personal property

of deceased persons, were checked for references to Virginia or "country made" ceramic wares. When it became apparent that these lists did not usually identify ceramics in this way, as an experiment a computer-assisted analysis was made of all the ceramic vessels listed from 1700 to 1730 to discover if it could be determined just when the wares made at Yorktown first began appearing in local households. Unfortunately, too many inventories lacked the descriptive detail needed to produce conclusive results. Nevertheless, the analysis did provide a useful evaluation of changes in the pattern of ceramic ownership in York County during the first third of the 18th C.

A second research priority was to conduct a comprehensive survey of manuscript collections at major libraries in Virginia to locate account books, letterbooks, family papers, or any other sources dating from 1700 to 1750 that might contain pertinent information. Mercantile account books and business records were examined with special care for evidence that Rogers was selling ceramic wares or for any indication of his business activities. Although this type of survey often produces only meager or negative results, it is necessary to look at all possible sources, and a considerable body of indirectly useful data was found.

The large number of records generated by the governing institutions of the British Empire and its representatives that is preserved at the Public Record Office in England was another source of information used for this study. Most of the documents relating to Virginia have been microfilmed and in some instances have been printed. The groups that contain evidence of Rogers' business ventures include the correspondence of Virginia's royal governors, the records of the Board of Trade, the lists of shipping into and out of Virginia prepared by the Naval Officers, and the records of Virginia's House of Burgesses and the Governor's Council. These records provided important information on the government's official policy toward colonial manufactures as well as evidence that Rogers was shipping his ceramic wares outside Virginia.

Clues suggesting that William Rogers may have owned property

or had mercantile connections in Hanover County prompted an attempt to find clarifying evidence in that area's local records. A test survey was also made of estate inventories in the records of Surry County from 1715 to 1750 to look for references to Virginia-made earthenware or stoneware, with disappointing results. Ideally, the records of a number of other Virginia counties should be investigated, but the limitations of time did not allow for such an extensive survey. A number of 18th C. and 19th C. maps were used and although most were not detailed enough to be useful, several maps of the Yorktown vicinity during the Yorktown campaign of 1781 were very informative.

In addition to work done in Virginia sources, some records from other colonies were also inspected, but the scope of the project did not allow for more than a brief appraisal of these materials. Manuscript archives in North Carolina and Washington, D.C., as well as published source materials, were checked for accounts or other evidence that merchants were buying wares from Rogers wholesale. Newspapers from a number of colonies, including South Carolina, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were also scanned for advertisements, shipping records, or other indications that Virginia-made ceramics were being sold.

Another research goal was to learn more about William Rogers' family, and especially his English origins and occupational training. A variety of sources - genealogies, English county histories, and manuscript materials - were investigated to this end and some suggestive clues were located. More successful was the search for biographical data concerning Rogers' wife and children and their lives after his death. Many other sources were consulted in an attempt to make connections between seemingly unrelated facts, or to follow what appeared to be a promising direction of inquiry. No doubt important evidence concerning Rogers remains to be discovered.

The primary goal of this study was to learn more about the pottery factory, its operation, its workers, and its customers. It became evident, however, that very little detailed information

on the factory was available in the surviving documentary sources. It accordingly became more important to concentrate attention on every detail that could be found concerning its owner, assuming that some conclusions could be indirectly inferred from this bare framework of data. The first three chapters of the following report focus therefore on William Rogers, his life, his personal and business affairs, and his landholdings. Chapter 4 briefly discusses what impact British policy toward colonial manufactures had on the development of industry in North American and on the pottery works at Yorktown.

In some ways, this study necessarily covers ground already explored in previous accounts, but it also presents new, more comprehensive, or more exact information. This study, taken together with the report of the archaeological investigations at lots 51 and 55, demonstrates how documentary and artifactual material evidence can complement each other in any attempt to reconstruct the colonial past.

FOOTNOTES

1. Arthur C. Bining, British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry (Philadelphia, 1933), 4.

2. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, The Economy of British America, 1607-1789 (Chapel Hill, N.C., forthcoming), see chap. 16, "Colonial Manufacturing and Extractive Industries." One example of such an exception is Graham Hood's account of the first porcelain factory in America, Bonnin and Morris of Philadelphia: The First American Porcelain Factory, 1770-1772 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972).

3. See Harold F. Guillard, Early American Folk Pottery (Philadelphia, 1971), 26, for one example of a basically valid but nevertheless misleading generalization about industry in the colonial South.

4. See McCusker and Menard, Economy of British America, chap. 7, "The Chesapeake Colonies," chap. 15, "Early American Agriculture," and chap. 16, "Colonial Manufacturing and Extractive Industries" for a good summary of recent work on diversification, urbanization, and manufactures. See also Peter V. Bergstrom, "Markets and Merchants" Economic Diversification in Colonial Virginia, 1700-1775 (Ph.D. diss., University of New Hampshire, 1980) and James O'Mara, "Urbanization in Tidewater Virginia during the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography" (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1979).

5. McCusker and Menard, Economy of British America, chap. 16, "Colonial Manufacturing and Extractive Industries." Some

recent studies of manufacturing in the Chesapeake include: Geoffrey N. Culbert, "Baltimore's Flour Trade to the Caribbean, 1750-1815" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1975); Ronald L. Lewis, Coal, Iron, and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia 1715-1865 (Westport, Conn., 1979); Michael W. Robbins, "The Principio Company: Iron-Making in Maryland, 1720-1781" (Ph.D. diss. George Washington University, 1972); and G. Terry Sharrer, "Flour Milling and the Growth of Baltimore, 1750-1830," Maryland Historical Magazine, LXXI (1976), 322-333.

6. Ivor Noel Hume, Here Lies Virginia, An Archaeologist's View of Colonial Life and History (New York, 1970), 221-223; C. Malcolm Watkins and Ivor Noel Hume, The "Poor Potter" of Yorktown, United States National Museum Bulletin no. 249 (Washington, D.C., 1967), 91-111; Erwin N. Thompson, Historic Structure Report: The Poor Potter of Yorktown (Denver, Colo., 1974), 47.

7. Watkins and Hume, "Poor Potter" of Yorktown, 91-101, 109-111; Thompson, Historic Structure Report, 3-16, 53-54. For an excellent overview of the subject of colonial potters see Susan H. Myers, "A Survey of Traditional Pottery Manufacture in the Mid-Atlantic and Northeastern United States," Northeast Historical Archaeology, VI (1977), 1-13.

8. William Gooch to the Board of Trade, Oct. 5, 1732, Colonial Office 5/1323/62-66, Public Record Office. All references to documents in the Public Record Office are to microfilm copies at the Research Library of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

9. Watkins and Hume, "Poor Potter" of Yorktown, 79, 82-83.

10. Ibid., see especially 109-111.

11. Norman F. Barka, "The Excavation of the Yorktown Pottery Factory: Final Report on the 1972 Excavation" (unpublished MS report, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va., 1973); Norman F. Barka, "The Kiln and Ceramics of the 'Poor Potter' of Yorktown: A Preliminary Report," in Ian M. G. Quimby, ed., Ceramics in America (Charlottesville, Va., 1973), 291-318; Norman F. Barka and Chris Sheridan, "The Yorktown Pottery Industry, Yorktown, Virginia," Northeast Historical Archaeology, VI (1977), 21-32; Norman F. Barka, "The Archaeology of Kiln 2: Yorktown Pottery Factory, Yorktown, Virginia" (unpublished MS report, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1979).
12. Barka, "Kiln and Ceramics of the 'poor Potter' of Yorktown," in Quimby, ed., Ceramics in America, 292-293.
13. See Thompson, Historic Structure Report.

CHAPTER 1

WILLIAM ROGERS - AN OVERVIEW

Even after a thorough search of the extant records, William Rogers, the owner and probable operator of one of America's first stoneware factories, remains an elusive figure. The only example of his handwriting to survive is a signature on a small scrap of paper - a receipt that he witnessed in 1720. (Figure 4). Of course the York County records include clerk's copies of other, more informative documents signed or written by Rogers, and it is known that only a fraction of most white men in colonial Virginia were literate enough to read and write. Nevertheless, it is surprising that a man of Rogers' wealth and varied mercantile interests is so poorly represented among the collections of documents that have been preserved. Any attempt to reconstruct his life must necessarily be based in large measure on informed conjecture. This chapter is such an attempt. A number of the conclusions drawn and suggestions made are discussed and documented more fully in later chapters, and others are the result of careful reasoning based on a bare framework of factual information.

English Origin and Background

Since the surname Rogers was relatively common in York as well as other Virginia counties as early as the middle of the 17th C., it is possible that William Rogers of Yorktown was related to one of these families and that he was born in America. An earlier study considered the evidence and concluded that there was nothing to link Rogers with any of these families, nor is there any indication that he was related to any member of the York County clan of that name. During the three decades that he lived in Yorktown, William Rogers never appears to have been associated with the other Rogers families except in the most perfunctory ways.

6th Feb 1720

Then reciev'd from m^r. Ebenezer Edwards the sum of five pounds and
seven Shillings & being in full for the purchase of the little Plot or parcel of
Land adjoining to William Walker his new Garden As witness my
hand this day and year above said

William Walker his
mark

Richd Ambler
Jno. Hawkswell
Wm. Rogers

6th. Feb 1720

Then recleiv'd from m^r. Ebenezer Edwards the sum of six pounds
seven Shillings being in full for the purchase of the [little] lot or parcell of
Land adjoining to William Walker his new Garden As witness my
hand the day and year abovesaid

Test

Richd Ambler
Jno. Hawkswell
Wm. Rogers

William Walker his
mark

THE ONLY SURVIVING EXAMPLE OF WILLIAM ROGERS'S SIGNATURE, A RECEIPT DATED 1720

If he had kinship ties to any of these people it is highly likely that he or his children would have been mentioned in their wills, deeds, or other documents.¹

The name Rogers was also widespread in 16th C. and 17th C. England. Several published genealogies and studies of emigrants from England to America indicate that the name was frequently found in a number of counties in the English Midlands, including Hereford, Northhampton, Shropshire, and Warwick.² A recent study of the English origins of the first settlers in five Massachusetts towns lists several men named Rogers who were from Essex and Suffolk.³ Apparently the name often proves difficult to trace. One genealogist, frustrated by her inability to determine the origin of a Lieutenant William Rogers who settled in New Jersey in 1700, explained that this was not surprising since "the most careful investigations upon the part of several genealogists" had likewise been unproductive in the cases of four other men named Rogers who had settle in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York.⁴ With unlimited access to English local records, a great deal of time, and good luck the problem of where and when William Rogers of Yorktown was born may finally be solved someday. Several clues do exist, however, that point to the counties of Essex and Surrey as the most likely place of his origin.

When William Rogers died he was survived by at least one brother, who was living in England. This older brother, George Rogers, was a "Coller Maker" who resided in Braintree, Essex, in 1743, and who apparently died and was buried there in 1750.⁵ Since most local English records have not been published or micro-filmed it is difficult to find information on anyone who may have been kin to Rogers who lived in England. Several secondary accounts of Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, and Middlesex were consulted, but they contain very little pertinent information. There were references to a Rogers family in Wethersfield, Essex, but nothing to connect the family with Braintree.⁶ A history of Surrey, however, indicated that a number of people named Rogers had lived in that shire. A clothier named William Rogers, for

example, was living in Wonersh, Surrey, in 1606, and in 1620 a "Mr. Rogers" sent three of his sons to board at Dulwich School. Of greater interest is the William Rogers who operated a distilley in Southwark sometime during the middle of the 17th C. Southwark and nearby Lambeth were important centers of the stoneware industry in England after the 1670s. Both of these areas, which lie on the south side of the Thames River across from London, were favored locations for pottery factories and for potters' residences.⁸

Although no proof has been found, it is possible that the distiller was the grandfather, father, or an uncle of William Rogers of Yorktown. George Rogers, his older brother, could easily have moved from the Southwark area to Braintree after he became an adult. There is later evidence that indirectly connects William Rogers of Yorktown with the Lambeth area. Long after his death, his grandson William Reynolds was corresponding with a "cousin" named Samuel Rogers. Samuel was a mariner who seems to have had Rogers kinsmen living at Vauxhall, adjacent to Lambeth and near Southwark. It therefore seems likely that William Rogers was born in the vicinity of London, perhaps in Southwark, sometime between the years 1680 and 1688.⁹ It is impossible at this time to do more than speculate on the social and economic background of his family. If his father owned or operated a sizable distillery Rogers may have been born into a well-off middle-class family. On the other hand, since his brother George was only a "Coller Maker" it seems more likely that his family had a relatively lower social and economic status. There are several indirect indications that William Rogers had received, by the standards of the time, a surprisingly good education.¹⁰ Whether this training consisted of attendance at a formal school, an apprenticeship as a clerk to some craftsman or businessman, or whether he taught himself is not known. We do know that he grew up with at least one brother and sister, and perhaps more, but beyond these few facts nothing else can be said about his childhood.¹¹

Sometime after 1700, when he was still an adolescent, Rogers must have begun learning about the brewing business, perhaps from William Rogers, the distiller mentioned above. When Rogers arrived in Virginia in 1710 he immediately began running a brewery. It is possible that he learned this trade in his father's distillery at Southwark, where he also would have had ample opportunity to become interested in the pottery-making business. It is tempting to speculate that it was during these early years that Rogers forged friendships, connections, and knowledge of the pottery industry that later enabled him to set up the operation at Yorktown.

Two other very important events probably occurred in Rogers' life soon after 1707. By that year, when he may have been about twenty-one years old, Rogers had married and in 1708 his first child, a daughter named Susanna, was born.¹² We do not know what motives prompted Rogers to leave England with his wife and infant daughter only two years later. His father may have died and left him an inheritance; his wife, about whom nothing is known, may have come from a wealthy family, or his family may have moved to Essex. Whatever the reasons Rogers decided to take his small family to try their fortunes in the New World.

The Move to Virginia

William Rogers probably arrived in Yorktown toward the end of 1710. there is evidence that he came over on the Digges Frigot from London, reaching Virginia in December of 1710, and he may have brought one Negro slave with him.¹³ It is likely that he brought his wife and young daughter Susanna with him also, rather than risk their undertaking the difficult voyage alone. After an uncertain beginning in 1691, the Yorktown that Rogers first saw was rapidly developing into a small but busy port. When the Swiss traveler Franic Louis Michel visited Yorktown in 1702 he was more impressed with the number of ships lying at anchor in the harbor than with the size or appearance of the town itself.¹⁴

By 1710 the town had expanded and consisted of fifty to seventy buildings, including residences, outbuildings, shops, taverns warehouses, storehouses, a church, and a courthouse. The two areas that had developed most rapidly were the town's main street and an area along the riverfront below the marl cliffs. This waterfront area was the site of taverns, stores, wharves, warehouses, and other facilities where the mercantile and shipping activities that played an important role in the town's growth were centered. The actual population of the town fluctuated according to the number of ships in the harbor and to the seasons, but in 1710 it was probably at least 150 people and at times may have approached 500. The permanent residents consisted of tavern keepers, merchants, lawyers, and a variety of craftsmen, including bakers, blacksmiths, and tailors.¹⁵ Partly as the result of natural growth but mostly from the continuing influx of immigrants, the population of York County had also increased dramatically from about 3,000 in 1700 to over 4,000 by 1715.¹⁶ Rogers had made a good decision in choosing Yorktown for the base of his operation. The town may have been relatively unimpressive in 1710, but with its excellent harbor and good access by land and water to most of the Chesapeake region it was to become by 1750 one of Virginia's most important centers of shipping and mercantile activity. (Figures 5,6).

William Roger's first concern on arriving at Yorktown must have been to secure a place to live and to set up his first business, a brewery. Rogers may have met and made contact with a Yorktown resident before leaving England, for we know he was using several houses belonging to John Martin, a mariner, from the time he arrived in December, 1710, to January, 1712. By March of 1711 Rogers was already selling ale from his brewery, and by May he had acquired title to his first two town lots. He may have used Martin's houses as a temporary residence or to set up his brewery until he decided where to located permanently and while he was building on his lots.¹⁷

By 1712 Rogers was probably settled on the two adjacent lots, 51 and 55, where he was to live the rest of his life. In

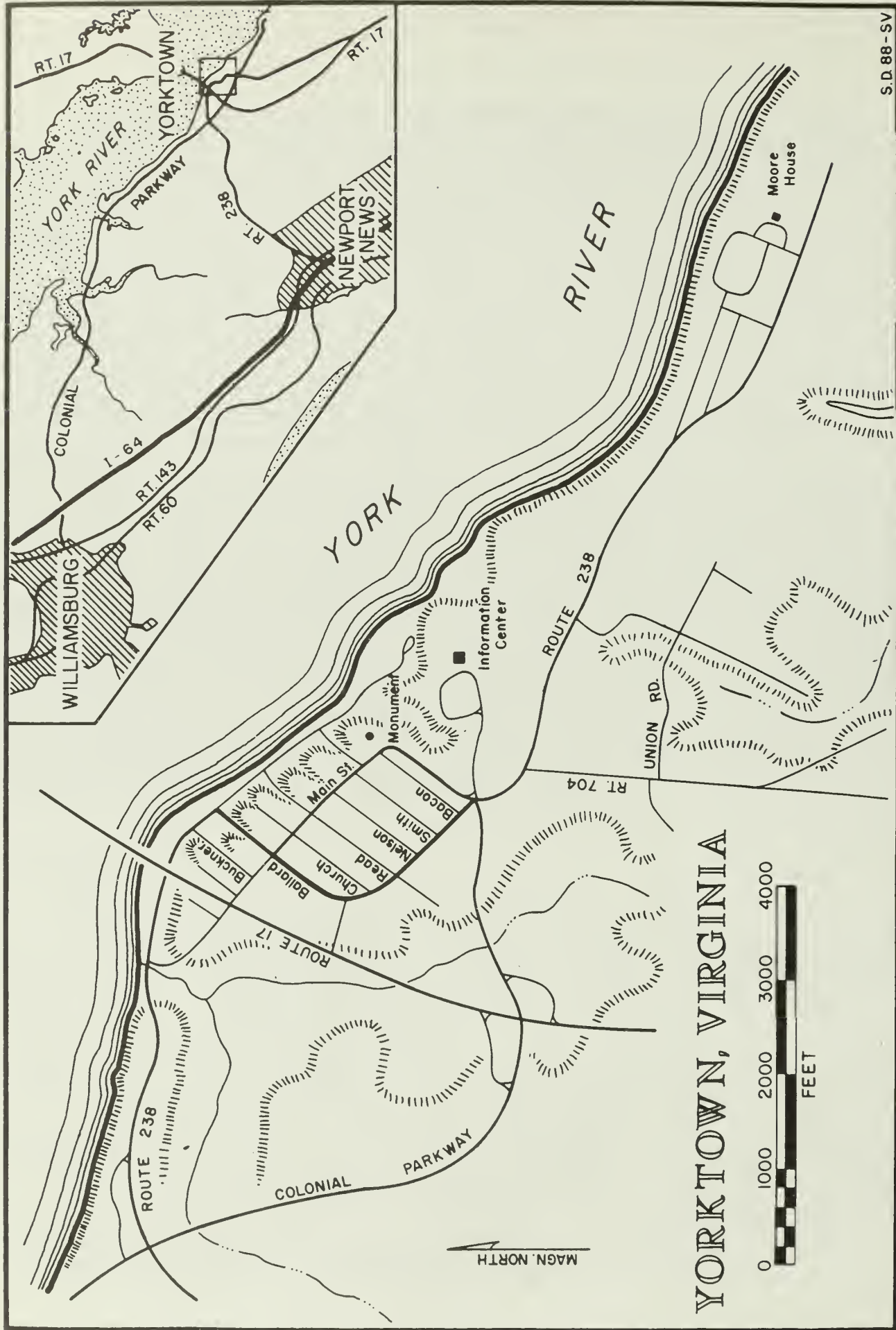


Figure 5

addition to overseeing the brewery, he began performing jobs that the county court often assigned to responsible free holders. From 1711 to 1712 Rogers helped take affidavits in a chancery court case, examined witnesses in a lawsuit involving land, and assisted in taking inventories of deceased persons' estates.¹⁸ From February 1713 to September 1714, however, Rogers was not mentioned in the records in any capacity.¹⁹ This may represent a concentrated involvement on his part in the brewery, but it is also possible that Rogers returned to England for either personal or business reasons, perhaps to further some mercantile venture. We do not know when he began to plan setting up the pottery factory in Yorktown, but Rogers may have returned to London to raise capital and to find skilled workmen for that project.

In the fall of 1714 Rogers' name began regularly appearing again in the local records. During the next four years he served on several juries, appraised more estates, and was both plaintiff and defendant in various lawsuits that seem to have involved the collection of debts. Beginning in 1718 Rogers sued a number of tavernkeepers, probably to collect money owed him for ale or beer from his brewery.²⁰ The earliest evidence that Rogers had white indentured servants working for him dates from 1714 when a woman servant was ordered by the court to serve additional time as punishment for running away. Unless servants ran away or otherwise broke the law, they were not usually mentioned in the local records so it is possible that Rogers had acquired other servants by 1714. If he did go back to England in 1713, Rogers could have brought indentured servants back with him. Unfortunately none of the references concerning Rogers' servants indicates if they had skills relating to brewing or pottery making.²¹

Several important events occurred in Rogers' personal life during his early years in Yorktown. There is indirect evidence that his first wife, whose name is not known, died sometime before 1718. By that year Rogers had married again and his second child, a son named William, was born about 1719 or 1720. William Jr. was the first of three children who survived infancy to be born to Rogers and his second wife, Theodosia. The birthdates of the



THE CHESAPEAKE REGION
VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND
1740

FIGURE 6

last two children, daughters Sarah and Hannah, are not known, but neither they nor their older brother was twenty-one years old when Rogers wrote his will in 1739.²² Since the birth, death, and marriage registers for Yorkhampton Parish and Yorktown have been lost it is impossible to determine the vital facts concerning the children, Rogers and Theodosia's marriage, or even what her maiden name was.

Many questions concerning this period in Rogers' life remain unanswered. When did his first wife die? If she died soon after they came to Virginia in 1710 why did he wait so long to remarry? If she lived until shortly before 1718 why were no other children born after Susanna's birth in 1708? In 1714 Mary Cary, a widow, sued Rogers in an action of "covenant broken". This lawsuit was eventually dropped, but it may have involved a breach of promise, possibly a betrothal that was broken. Since this lawsuit was brought immediately after Rogers begins reappearing in the local records, one can speculate that he met Theodosia while he was in England and married her there. His return with a bride may have incurred the wrath of widow Cary. If he remarried as early as 1714, however, it is difficult to explain why no children were born until 1718. It is possible that Theodosia was a Virginian, but when Rogers wrote his will he mentioned the possibility of her leaving Virginia after his death, and in her own will Theodosia referred to property she owned in England. Altogether the evidence suggests that Theodosia was born in England and may have had relatives still living there when she died in 1732.²³ By 1718, William Rogers had acquired and built a house on two lots in the town, and had established himself as a successful brewer and a responsible citizen. After the death of his first wife, he had remarried and was soon to start a second family.

Years of Enterprise, 1718-1733

During a fifteen year period that began about 1718, William Rogers gradually expanded and diversified his economic activities

until he was engaged in over six different, but often interrelated, enterprises. The variety of his business ventures were impressive, but in this he was typical of a number of ambitious, successful entrepreneurs who made fortunes for themselves and their families in pre-Revolutionary Virginia. Such men were often simultaneously planters, merchants, and manufacturers, and they combined a diverse array of commercial investments, ranging from grist and lumber mills, to blacksmith shops, taverns ironworks, shoe manufacturing shops, and ships. Thomas Nelson of Yorktown was in many ways representative of this type of merchant entrepreneur, who through resourcefulness and a range of business pursuits rose from middle class origins to become one of York County's wealthiest men. Although the rapidity and extent of Nelson's rise to prosperity and power were unusual, the pattern was not. Beginning as a merchant in the town in 1705, Nelson married well, got involved in the tobacco and slave trades, and invested in mills, taverns, ships, iron mines, and land. By the time he died in 1745 Nelson's sons were firmly entrenched in the upper echelon of Virginia's gentry.²⁴

William Rogers did not start out as well situated, nor did he rise nearly as high as Thomas Nelson did, but the range of his business affairs and the progress of his career are similar to many of the merchant entrepreneurs described above. Rogers' varied economic ventures will be described in more detail later in this study, but it may be useful to summarize them here. In addition to continuing his first business, the brewery, Rogers was becoming involved in two other pursuits by 1720. His major new undertaking, the pottery factory, was already in operation that year as demonstrated by archaeological evidence. Rogers must have begun preparations, construction, and experimentation at the factory complex soon after 1718. He had also begun some mercantile activities and had probably opened a store in Yorktown by 1720 or shortly thereafter. We do not know whether his store was primarily a retail or wholesale concern.

By 1723 Rogers was entering into mercantile partnerships

with English tradesmen that often involved considerable amounts of capital. By this time he had probably acquired or built the warehouse or storehouse on the waterfront that he mentioned in his will. The most significant evidence that Rogers was becoming an important figure in the town's commercial structure appears in 1724, when he is identified as a merchant for the first time. The earliest documentary evidence linking Rogers to the sale of ceramic wares also appears at about the same time. Rogers also owned a store in Williamsburg that he either rented out or ran for his own purposes. Throughout the 1720s and into the 1730s he also maintained business associations with English tradesmen. The use of the term "merchant" is a sure indication that his status was on the rise. No longer a mere brewer, Rogers had entered the ranks of the town's prosperous middle class.

Yet another phase of Rogers' entrepreneurial activities had begun by 1730 when he became the owner of a ninety-ton sloop. During the next nine years Rogers owned at least four sailing vessels, including a ship engaged in the transatlantic trade. Rogers was only one of many merchant-shipowners who participated in Yorktown's growing coastal, West Indian, and Atlantic trades. By the 1730s Rogers was also involved in agricultural production, apparently growing grain and raising livestock on a small scale. Several years before his death he even contracted to build a new prison for the county and was paid a substantial fee for the job. The diversity of Rogers' enterprises might appear, at first, to have hindered his success. Such a complex network of investments and concerns would require very skillful management. Diversification, however, can be advantageous. By spreading financial risks and connecting and combining enterprises, he may have maximized profits. As brewer, merchant, manufacturer, shipowner, planter, and contractor, the range of Rogers' business involvements reveals that he was a shrewd, ambitious, and resourceful man.²⁵

The source of the initial capital Rogers needed to start up the brewery and the pottery factory is not known. He may have inherited a modest estate or he may have been able to obtain credit

in London or Virginia. If he married well, both of his wives may have had sizable doweries. Rogers' first enterprises were evidently profitable. As early as 1721 he was able to invest money in augmenting his labor force. Beginning that year he began acquiring Negro slaves, some of them African born. Slaves were usually only mentioned in the local records when they were imported and had to have their ages determined for tax purposes, when they were listed in estate inventories, or like white servants, when they broke the law. By 1724 Rogers had acquired at least eight slaves and four white indentured servants. This probably represents only part of his total labor force since he owned thirty six slaves only fifteen years later when he died.²⁶

The profits from the brewery and pottery factory seem to have enabled Rogers to expand and diversify his business enterprises and to buy additional property in Yorktown, Williamsburg, and the county, as well as to expand his labor force. Since none of his business records has survived it is impossible to determine just how profitable any of his various concerns were. In 1725 when he dissolved a partnership with a business associate in London, Rogers was able to pay out the sum of £400 sterling without difficulty. Rogers seems to have been a good businessman. Most of the lawsuits he instigated in the 1720s and 1730s represent the routine collection of relatively small outstanding debts, and it is likely that he kept his business affairs in good order and had relatively few bad debts. The first evidence of Rogers' financial worth dates from 1740 when his estate was appraised after his death. When an inventory was made of his personal property that year it was valued at £1,224. Three years later after all outstanding debts had been collected and the estate's expenses and obligations had been paid, the estate still had a net worth of £1,032. Since his land had an estimated value of about £600, Rogers' total net worth when he died was probably close to £1,600.²⁷

The fifteen years following 1718 were the most active years of William Rogers' career, the years when he was involved in the widest range of commercial and business ventures. It was also the

period when he made the greatest gains in social and economic status. By 1734 William Rogers reached the highest status he was to attain, but he was to have only five more years to enjoy his success.

The Last Years

When William Rogers first arrived in Yorktown in 1710 the small port town had just begun to play a role in Virginia's commerce. Nearly thirty years later, when Rogers died, it was one of the colony's most important centers of trade and shipping, exporting tobacco, naval stores, and foodstuffs to many parts of the British empire. Ships from the West Indies, other mainland colonies, and London exchanged cargoes at the waterfront and large numbers of slaves were imported to and sold in the town.

During the intervening years Yorktown had grown in size and population, but it is difficult to determine just how large the town was throughout most of the period before 1750. William Grove, an Englishman who visited the town in 1732, commented:

This City (as tis Call'd) is indeed a delicat village. [It] stands Elivated on a Sandy hill-Like Black heath or Richmond Hall & Like that Overlooks a fine river Broader than the Thames at Those places & has Likewise the prospect of a noble Bay. A Stranger [would] conclude there were at Least 100 houses whereas there are really not 30--for Their Kitchens, Warehouses &c: are bare & generally Elsewhere Separate from their dwelling houses & make them appear different habitations.²⁸

Grove, not used to the Virginia custom of building many small out-buildings to house a variety of domestic activities, was understandably confused about just how many dwellings were in the town. Ten years later in 1742, another traveler, Edward Kimber, recorded his impressions of the town:

York-Town,...is situated on a rising Ground,...and Tho' but stragglingly built, yet makes no inconsiderable Figure. You perceive a great Air of Opulence amongst the Inhabitants, who have some of them built them-

selves Houses, equal in Magnificence to many of our superb ones at St. James's;...Almost every considerable Man Keeps an Equipage, tho' they have no Concern about the different colours of their Coach Horses....The most considerable Houses are of Brick; some handsome ones of wood, all built in the modern taste; and the lesser Sort, or Plaister. There are some very pretty Garden Spots in the Town; and the Avenues leading to Williamsburg,...are prodigiously agreeable.²⁹

This was William Rogers' Yorktown during the last years of his life. One study has estimated that at its peak size, between 1750 and 1770, Yorktown had about 200 buildings and possibly as many as 1,800 inhabitants including young and old, black and white, male and female.³⁰ Up until 1750, Yorktown was one of Virginia's busiest ports in terms of the quantity of goods and commodities exported. As early as the 1730s more tobacco and other staple commodities such as grain and foodstuffs were exported from the town than from any other Virginia port. By 1750, however, Yorktown fell behind and ranked only third out of the five naval districts in the colony.³¹ The decline in importance did not necessarily mean that the town's size or even its population decreased to any significant degree; it reflected the fact that other ports and regions were growing at a much faster rate while Yorktown's growth slowed or stopped.

During the 1730s William Rogers began to be recognized as one of the "considerable" men Edward Kimber saw in the town. In 1729 he had been sworn in as an officer in the York County militia. Although the record book is badly damaged it is likely that he was appointed to be a lieutenant. By 1734 Rogers was promoted to be captain of the militia troop that John Buckner had commanded. This title, although largely honorary, was a sure indication that he had entered the ranks of the county's upper class, the gentry, if not the tiny elite group at the very top of the social order. That same year he was also identified for the first time as William Rogers, "gent.," confirming that he had become one of the town's important men.³²

A close look at the inventory of Rogers' property suggests that, at least during the last years of his life, he had assumed a

style of living that matched his improving social and economic status. Like the men Kimber noticed, Rogers owned a coach and four coach horses worth £40. Befitting his rank as a militia captain, Rogers also owned a pair of silver spurs, a sword with a silver hilt, a pair of pistols, and a "Trooping" saddle. Although it would probably be misleading to characterize Rogers as indulging in conspicuous consumption, he seems to have enjoyed owning expensive material possessions, including over £30 worth of silver items. Most of these spoons, drinking cups, and a teapot were engraved with initials or with family crests and armorial designs. His house was well provided with walnut, cherry, pine, and japanned furniture and with an impressive array of household furnishings including a clock and many glass, pewter, and brass objects. The quality and quantity of his material goods imply that he lived on a scale far above most of his local contemporaries.³³

Until more archaeological excavation is done, little can be said concerning Rogers' dwelling in Yorktown. He seems to have lived on lots 51 and 55 from shortly after 1711, when he acquired them, until his death in 1739. Since both lots were acquired from the town trustees and were therefore undeveloped, he had to build on them soon or else lose his title. It is not known if Rogers' dwelling on these lots was the first structure built or if he replaced it at some later date. In 1732 William Grove noted that the town had "about 10 good houses not above 4 of Brick the rest of Timber viz Pine Planks Covered with Shingles of Cypress."³⁴ Since Yorktown's few brick houses have largely been identified it is likely that Rogers lived in one of the "handsome" wooden houses built in the "modern taste" that Edward Kimber observed in 1742.³⁵

Judging from the location of the pottery factory buildings the dwelling was probably located on lot 55, perhaps parallel to Nelson Street like the Ballard House. The house itself was probably similar to some of the frame buildings still standing in Yorktown and Williamsburg that were built between 1710 and 1750.

The only room specifically named in Rogers' inventory was the hall. Three pairs of andirons were also listed in the inventory, perhaps indicating that the dwelling had two rooms with fireplaces and a hall on the main floor, and two or three smaller rooms on a second floor.³⁶ Early in 1739 Rogers bought a small parcel of land on the outskirts of Yorktown and began preparing to build a new wood-framed dwelling for himself and his family. He may have found that the house on lot 55 was becoming overcrowded and he probably wanted to live farther from the smoke of the pottery kilns, or he may have wanted to build a more fashionable house that reflected his improved status. The new house was built, but Rogers died before it was completed. His widow, however, did move in and lived there the rest of her life.³⁷

Since no letters or personal papers exist, it is especially difficult to make an assessment of William Rogers' character or personality. Aside from concluding that he must have been able, hardworking, and ambitious to have succeeded so well, what can be gleaned from the meager record? The bookkeeping skills needed to manage his business affairs must have been learned through some sort of training or apprenticeship. The formal, elaborate style of his signature suggest that he also received some formal education. (Figure 4). His inventory lists a parcel of books valued at £4 without any further description. In 1740 £4 would buy a considerable number of volumes. Another aspect of his tastes may be seen in the unusually large number of pictures he owned, over ninety in all, including prints, "Dutch" pictures in gilt frames, maps, and glass and china pictures.³⁸ A collection of this size and variety must reflect a keen sense of artistic appreciation and enjoyment. William Rogers was not just a shrewd businessman, he was also a man who enjoyed fine things, an educated man who surrounded himself with prints, paintings and books.

Even less is known about Rogers' family life, or who his friends and close associates were. A minor incident may indicate that like many contemporary Virginians, he was an unenthusiastic member of the established Anglican church. In January 1722 Rogers

was presented by the grand jury for not attending church. He appeared before the county court in March, paid his fine, and nothing similar seems to have occurred during his lifetime. Rogers may have been a dissenter or he may simply have been religious. There is evidence that he also had few political ambitions. During the last years of his life the county court began to appoint him to offices reserved for the town's prominent citizens. In addition to serving as a militia officer he was also appointed surveyor of the town's streets and landings. Rogers held this thankless, if important, post of being responsible for overseeing the repair of the streets until 1729.³⁹ Although Rogers performed such obligations when he was assigned them, he was never appointed a justice on the York County Court. Rogers' failure to become involved in the local political structure is somewhat surprising. By 1735 he was clearly a member of the gentry and was as well qualified socially and economically as the typical justice of the peace at that time. We can only speculate that his ambitions did not include being a public figure, that he was a private man, or perhaps that he was too busy to seek such a time-consuming office. There is also the possibility that for some reason he was considered an outsider and was not admitted into the highest level of the local political structure.

We know of only one person who claimed to be a close associate of William Rogers. In the early 1720s a young man named George Fisher had briefly lived in Yorktown, working as a deputy clerk of the county court. He went back to England for about thirty years and in 1750 returned to Virginia hoping to go into business as a tradesman. When Fisher came back to Virginia he kept a journal, a document that is very interesting, but equally difficult to interpret. He seems to have been a hard man to deal with, and he quarrelled with almost everyone he met, including the Nelson family of Yorktown. After failing to find any opportunities for trade in Yorktown he moved to Williamsburg with a stock of coffee, tea, wine and beer and tried unsuccessfully to run an ordinary and coffee house. Fisher was very self-conscious about being an outsider in Virginia. He had been warned that he should never

offend any of the gentry families there as they were all inter-related and would never forgive or forget an insult or a slight. He believed that he was being treated unfairly by most of the prominent Virginians he met, who he thought were trying to ruin him. Fisher was also convinced that most Virginians were vain, over-proud, and spiteful.

When Fisher arrived in Yorktown in 1750 one of his first actions was to visit Thomas Reynolds. He noted that "I was formerly acquainted with [Reynolds's wife, Susanna], being the daughter of a Mr. Wm. Rogers, a particular Friend and intimate Companion of mine about Thirty year ago."⁴⁰ Unfortunately this is all Fisher had to say about Rogers. Given Fisher's difficulty in getting along with the local gentry families, we can speculate that if he and Rogers had been "particular friends", then Rogers himself may have shared Fisher's view and have thought of himself not as a Virginian, but as an Englishman away from home.

During the last years of his life, Rogers had the satisfaction of seeing his oldest child marry well and his three younger children grow toward maturity. In his will Rogers instructed that the new brick house he was having built for his daughter Susanna and her husband should be finished even if he died. His concern for Susanna probably reflected her status as a step-child. After he died, his widow, Theodosia, seems to have had little to do with her step-daughter, preferring to live with one of her own daughters, Sarah. When Theodosia died many years later she left all of her possessions to Sarah and her husband. This family split was to create friction over the final disposition of some of Rogers' property years after his death. We do not know the extent of this rift in Rogers' family, or if it created problems during his lifetime. His family may have been troubled with illness during the last years of his life. In his will Rogers exhibited a more than usual concern about what would happen if his three youngest children died before reaching maturity. In fact, both William Jr. and Hannah did die soon after their father and before either had married. We are left with a sketchy, conjectural portrait of an

unusual man, an Englishman who may never have considered Virginia his home, a man with artistic tastes, a man who made a significant contribution to the ceramic industry in colonial America.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Watkins and Hume, "Poor Potter" of Yorktown, 86-87. This conclusion is based on a careful examination of the York County records from 1700 to 1750.

2. I. Newton Williams, The Rogers-Twifler Family: A Search for Ancestors (Bradley Beach, N.J., 1946), see "The Rogers Family"; Michael Ghirelli, A List of Emigrants from England to America, 1682-1692 (Baltimore, 1968), 71.

3. David Grayson Allen, In English Ways: The Movement of Societies, and the Transferral of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981), 166, 248, 275, 286.

4. Mary E. Sinnott, Annals of the Sinnott, Rogers, Coffin Corbes, Reeves, Bodine and Allied Families (Philadelphia, 1905), 29.

5. York County, Deeds No. 5 (1741-1754), George Rogers to Thomas Reynolds, 64-66; all subsequent references to county records will be to those of York County unless otherwise stated. The county records cited are available at the various county clerk's offices or may be used on microfilm at the Virginia State Library in Richmond. For the evidence of George Rogers' death, see Watkins and Hume, "Poor Potter" of Yorktown, 85.

6. William Page and J. H. Round, eds., The Victoria History of the County of Essex (London, 1907), II, 557.

7. H. E. Malden, ed., The Victoria History of the County of Surrey (London, 1905), II, 203-204, 344, 365, 395.

8. Ibid., 91-92. See also Rhoda Edwards, "London Potters circa 1570-1710," Journal of Ceramic History, No. 6 (1974), 1-30.

9. William Reynolds to Samuel Rogers, Aug. 19, 1771, William Reynolds Letterbook, 1771-1779, Library of Congress, 4-5 and passim. The conjectural date of birth is based on several factors: (1) assuming that Rogers was nearly 21 years old when his oldest surviving child was born about 1708, and that he was at least that age when he came to Virginia in 1710, he could not have been born later than about 1687 to 1688; (2) since the life expectancy for most adult males in Virginia during this period seldom exceeded 50 years, and Rogers died in 1739, he was probably born no earlier than 1680. My estimate of life expectancy is based on data supplied by Peter Bergstrom from an ongoing analysis of the York County records at the Research Department of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

10. This assertion is based, among other things, on the large number of books Rogers owned, his varied business ventures, and the highly formalized style of the single example of his handwriting to survive. See the discussion later in this chapter and also Figure 6.

11. In his will, written in 1739, Rogers mentions "my relations" and "my brothers and sisters children." See Appendix I-A.

12. Susanna was the oldest of William Rogers' four living children when he wrote his will in 1739. Her tombstone in Yorktown indicates that she was 60 years old when she died in 1768. It is possible that other children, older or younger than Susanna, had died before 1739, or that Rogers had been married for several years

before having any children. Nevertheless, it is most likely that his marriage took place around 1706 or 1707. See Appendix I-A and William Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia (Philadelphia, 1857), I, 214-215.

13. See "A List of all Ships and Vessells that have Imported Slaves into the District of York River together with the Number of Slaves Imported from the Tenth day of December 1710: to the Tenth Day of December 1718," C.O. 6/1320/6, P.R.O.

14. William J. Hinke, ed. and trans., "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michael from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701--December 1, 1702," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXIV (1916), 16, 25, 135.

15. The estimates of Yorktown's size are from Ronald E. Grim, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia: The Emergence of Service Centers in York County" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1977), 329-333, 342-346. For a discussion of the waterfront area see Charles E. Hatch, Jr., Historic Resource Study: "York under the Hill," Yorktown's Waterfront (Denver, Colo., 1973), 1-18.

16. Grim, "Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," 100-104; Charles E. Hatch, Jr., Colonial Yorktown's Main Street and Military Entrenchments (New York, 1980), 160-167.

17. See chap. 2 for a detailed discussion of Rogers' real property.

18. Orders and Wills No. 14 (1709-1716), 71, 116, 119-120, 124, 132-137.

19. The period of Rogers' absence from the court records can be traced in Orders and Wills No. 14 (1709-1716). Except for one mention in an estate account recorded in Feb. 1713, Rogers does not appear from Feb. 1712 through Sept. 1714 (see pages 136-137, 235, 354, 364). Since the entry in the estate account may refer to a transaction completed a year earlier the absence may actually have extended to over two years.

20. See the discussion in chap. 3 and Appendix IV.

21. See Appendix II. Rogers' servants and slaves are discussed in chaps. 3 and 4.

22. See Rogers' will in Appendix I-A. The conjecture that Theodosia was Rogers' second wife and not the mother of his oldest child, Susanna, is based on the gap of 10 or more years between Susanna's birth about 1708 and that of his next child, William Jr., who could not have been born before 1719. A gap of this length between children usually indicates that the family was disrupted by the death of one of the parents. The experience of Rogers' children was a common one in colonial Virginia. Recent demographic studies have shown that as many as two-thirds of all children in some areas of Virginia lost at least one parent before reaching the age of 21 during the period from the end of the 17th through the early years of the 18th century. See Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law': Parental Death in a Seventeenth-Century Virginia County," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 153-182. For a discussion of mortality in Charles Parish of York County, adjacent to Yorktown, see Daniel

Blake Smith, "Mortality and Family in the Colonial Chesapeake," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, VIII (1978), 403-427.

23. See Cary v. Rogers, Orders and Wills No. 14 (1709-1716), 358, 378; see also ibid., 301. For William's and Theodosia's wills see Appendix I-A and I-D.

24. Emory G. Evans, "The Nelsons: A Biographical Study of a Virginia Family in the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1957), 1-37, and Emory G. Evans, "The Rise and Decline of the Virginia Aristocracy in the Eighteenth Century," in Darrett B. Rutman, ed., The Old Dominion: Essays for Thomas Perkins Abernethy (Charlottesville, Va., 1964), 62-78.

25. See chaps. 3 and 5 for more detailed description of Rogers' entrepreneurial activities.

26. See Appendix II.

27. See Appendices I-A, I-B, and I-C. The estimated value of Rogers' landholdings was made from comparisons with similar property sold in the area in the 1740s.

28. William Hugh Grove Diary, 1698-1732, 111 (University of Virginia Library). There is a photostat copy of the Virginia part of this diary at the Colonial Williamsburg Research Library.

29. [Edward Kimber], "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., XV (1907), 222; Earl G. Swem, "Notes and Queries," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LIV (1946), 344.

30. Hatch, Colonial Yorktown's Main Street, 160.

31. See the discussion of O'Mara, "Urbanization in Tidewater Virginia," chap. 2, and also in chap. 3 below of this study.

32. Orders and Wills No. 16 (1720-1729), 575; Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 18 (1732-1740), 121, 131, 157-A.

33. See Appendix I-B.

34. Grove Diary, 1698-1732, 111.

35. [Kimber], "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., XV (1907), 222.

36. Charles E. Hatch, Jr., The Ballard House and Family (Washington, D.C., 1969). For other examples see Marcus Whiffen, The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va., 1960). See Appendix I-B of this study for Rogers' inventory.

37. See the discussion in chap. 2 of this study.

38. See Appendix I-B below.

39. Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 18 (1732-1740), 157-A, 480.

40. The relevant parts of Fisher's diary are reprinted in Hatch, Yorktown's Waterfront, 129-142, see especially 131.

41. See chaps. 2 and 6 and Appendix I-A below.

CHAPTER 2

WILLIAM ROGERS' LAND HOLDINGS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF YORKTOWN

The availability of cheap land in the New World and the opportunity to become a freeholder were among the most powerful of many lures that drew settlers to America. Access to real property, either by outright ownership or by lease, was frequently both a prerequisite to and a symbol of economic success and status in eighteenth-century Virginia. Knowledge of a man's landholdings and labor force is an important first step to understanding his position in the social and economic structure of the colony. This chapter describes the real or landed property William Rogers controlled, how and when he acquired it, and how he used it. Since most of his real property was in or near Yorktown, Rogers' landholdings are placed within the context of the town's growth and development.

Yorktown's Beginnings

Yorktown was founded as a result of the Act for Ports and Towns passed in 1691 by the General Assembly of Virginia. During the second half of the seventeenth century, a number of attempts had been made to remedy Virginia's lack of towns and ports and to modify the decentralized settlement pattern. Primarily at the urging of royal officials, and in response to depressions in the tobacco trade, acts were passed in 1662 and 1680 to create towns, but neither produced significant results because of insufficient inducements to investors and impractical requirements that tended to obstruct trade. Some Virginians hoped that the creation of more ports and towns would help the colony by encouraging economic diversification and by regulating the production and export of tobacco. The future site of Yorktown was one of the places selected in 1680, but apparently nothing was done to carry out the

provisions of the law.¹ After continued prompting from England and a succession of low tobacco prices, the Assembly passed another act in 1691 naming fifteen sites to be developed as port towns. The act authorized the purchase of land for these towns and provided for town trustees, who could grant a lot to any person willing to pay a just price and to build a twenty-foot square house on each lot within four months. Failure to build would result in foreclosure. After October 1692 all of the colony's imports and exports were to pass through one of the fifteen ports where certain duties would be collected.²

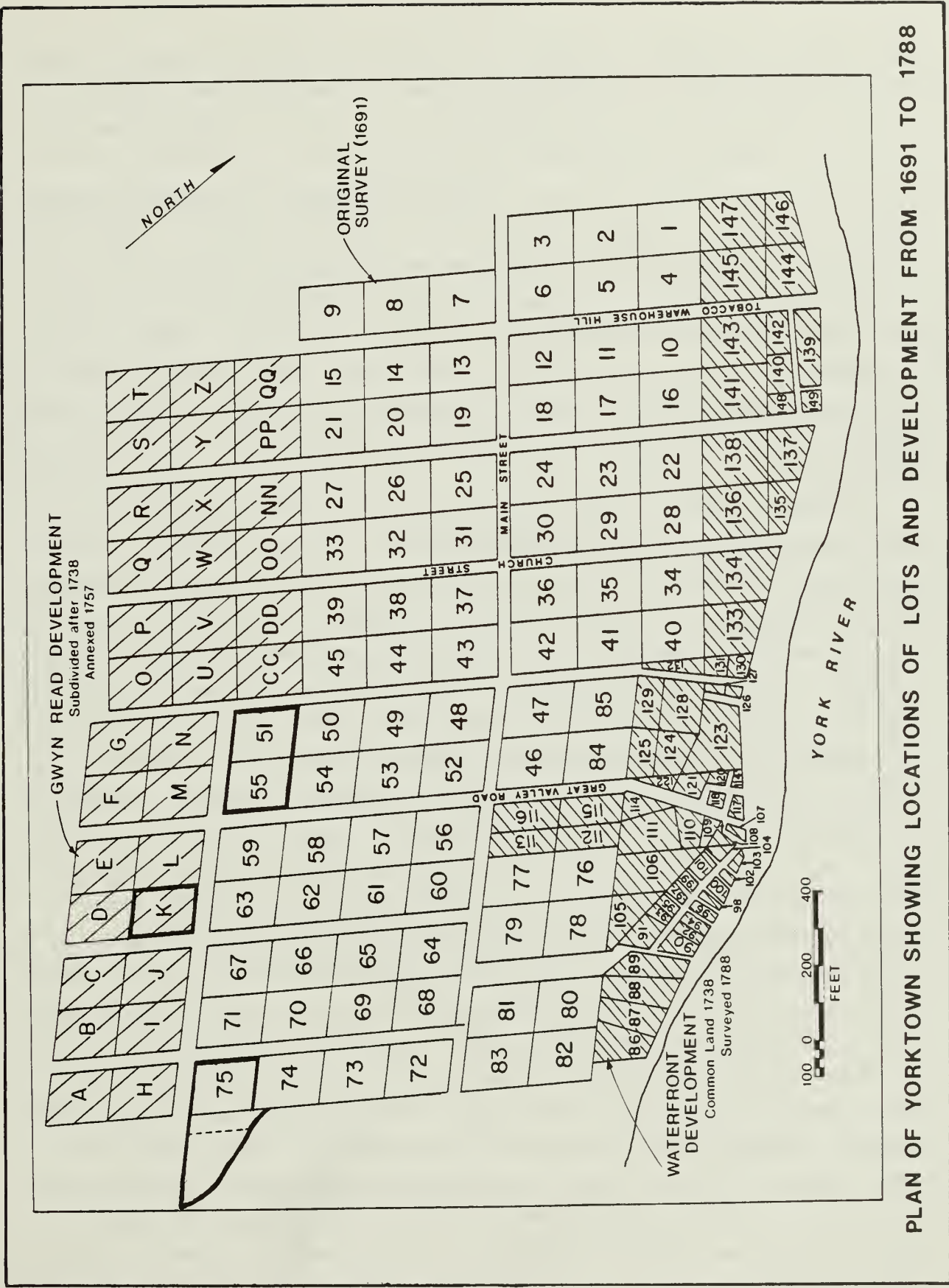
The Assembly chose Benjamin Read's land on the York River east of the mouth of Smith's (now Yorktown) Creek as the site for Yorktown. This was an excellent choice since the deep river channel came very close to the shore at this point (see Figure 7). Prompt action was taken to carry out the provisions of this act in York County; before the end of 1691, 50 acres of land had been purchased from Benjamin Read for 10,800 pounds of tobacco and the boundaries had been surveyed. The 50 acres were also subdivided into 85 half-acre numbered lots, and 5 additional acres of beach area below the bluffs were left as a common shore (see Figure 8). Many people were anxious to obtain lots by the end of 1692, only a year after the town had been laid out, over 60 of the 85 lots had been sold by the town trustees for the nominal sum of 180 pounds of tobacco each. The earliest lot purchasers were mostly wealthy men, members of the gentry and of the colonial or local government, although a few artisans and tradesmen were represented. All of the lots along the riverbank and on the western edge of the town near the creek were granted during this period, with only the least desirable lots in the southeastern section remaining unclaimed.³

This promising beginning was severely threatened when the authorizing legislature ran into opposition in England. The crucial difficulty came from a growing divergence between the expectations of English merchants and officials on the one hand and of Virginians on the other. Virginians were increasingly concerned about their dependence on the single-crop tobacco economy and on English manufactured goods. They hoped that towns would encourage local artisans, craftsmen, and manufacturers as



COLONIAL YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA
AND SURROUNDING AREA

FIGURE 7



PLAN OF YORKTOWN SHOWING LOCATIONS OF LOTS AND DEVELOPMENT FROM 1691 TO 1788

Based on a plan by Charles Hatch, 1973.
Copyright National Historical Park

FIGURE 8

well as help regulate the cyclical tobacco economy by introducing effective collection and export sectors. The English government, however, was primarily concerned with collecting the maximum amount of revenue from customs duties and with increasing tobacco production regardless of the price it sold for. English merchants, moreover, opposed anything that would encourage native manufacturers in Virginia or that would interfere with English trade and markets there. This growing cross-purpose between imperial policy and local needs had been a factor in the failure of the 1680 attempt to create towns and was the main reason the 1691 act was rejected in England and referred back to Virginia for further consideration. In 1693 the Act for Ports was accordingly suspended by the General Assembly.⁴

The suspension of the Act for Ports in 1693 caused an immediate decline in Yorktown's growth. A large number of the first owners chose to forfeit their title rather than maintain their investments. The town did not disappear, however, since 24 lots were not forfeited and buildings presumably were erected on them. An important boost came in 1697 when the county court decided to build a permanent courthouse in the town and a new church for York Parish was also located there. The General Assembly cleared much of the uncertainty about the legal status of the town in 1699 with a statute confirming land title to the lots bought in all the newly created port towns and omitting those objectional portions of the 1691 act that limited trade to particular places.⁵ This additional security encouraged people to again take up lots in the town. Many of the new owners seem to have been craftsmen and ordinary shopkeepers, indicating a growing interest among people who intended to live and work in Yorktown, whereas earlier buyers had often been members of the gentry who had bought for investment or speculation. Population growth and building activity continued steadily if slowly after 1700, and by 1705 the town was solidly established. One more act to create ports and towns was passed by the General Assembly in 1706, but it too was opposed by the English mercantile interest and vetoed by the crown in 1709. The act of 1706 did stimulate

further growth in Yorktown, however, and by 1710 most of the lots in Yorktown, and all of the most desirable ones, had been taken up and built on.⁶

Martin's Houses and Lots 51 and 55

The earliest documentary references indicate that William Rogers was living in Yorktown before the end of 1710. Rogers clearly had access to property in the town for some time before he actually owned any lots there. In December of 1711 the York County Court acted on a debt case brought by Samuel Smith against John Martin. After deciding in Smith's favor, the court directed William Rogers to appear and to give an account of what property of Martin's remained in his hands or was due to him. At the next meeting of the court held in January 1712, Rogers admitted that "for more than twelve months past" he had been in possession of "Sundry houses" belonging to Martin without paying any rent. The court decided that Rogers should pay £8 rent, most of which would go to Samuel Smith to help satisfy Martin's debt.⁷ Martin was a merchant and sometime mariner who owned various properties in Yorktown. The records give no explanation of how he was associated with Rogers or why he would let someone use his houses without paying rent, but it is possible to surmise where these houses were in the town.

In 1705 Martin bought lot no. 42 from Joane Lawson for £20 sterling. He continued to own this property until 1714 when he sold it, along with a warehouse he had built "under the bank" known as "Martin's Store," to Cole Digges for £90 sterling. Martin had also been granted lot no. 39 by the town trustees in 1707, which he sold to Arthur Bickerdike for £20 in 1717.⁸ Both of these lots had obviously been built on and developed, and either could have been the property Rogers was using in 1710. Lot no. 39 was very near the two lots he later owned, and lot no. 42 was located on the town's main street at the head of Read Street. The warehouse, or "Martin's Store," was probably located near the foot of Read Street near the river. Since Rogers was already operating his brewery by March 1711, three months before he obtained his

own property, it may have been situated on one of these lots or on the common shore where Martin's warehouse was located.⁹

Wherever Rogers was living and operating his brewery in 1710, he did not wait long to obtain property of his own. On May 19, 1711, William Buckner and Lawrence Smith, trustees of the town, granted Rogers two half-acre lots, nos. 51 and 55, for 180 pounds of tobacco, provided that within twelve months he would "Build & finish on Each of the sd. Lotts . . . one good house to Contain at least twenty foot."¹⁰ Rogers was not the first owner of these lots. In 1706 the General Assembly had passed another Act for Ports and Towns, which provided a flurry of renewed interest in lot acquisition until the act was vetoed in England in 1709. Probably in response to this act, James Walker, a merchant from Middlesex County, had acquired lot no. 55 in 1707, and another merchant, Richard Cheshire from nearby Warwick County had been granted lot no. 51 in 1708. After the failure of the 1706 act to gain royal approval, both men most likely decided not to invest more money in their speculative property and chose to forfeit their titles rather than go to the expense of building the required houses.¹¹ Lots 51 and 55 were not ideally located for mercantile activities, being on the back side of the town and away from the river. They were, however, among the few unowned lots available by 1710, and the nominal sum of 180 pounds of tobacco (worth less than £1) was considerably cheaper than the £10 to £20 or more that developed properties were worth. This certainly influenced Rogers' decision to settle for this location. For brewing and later on for the manufacture of ceramics, these lots were satisfactory.

The Warehouse by the Waterside

In May 1739 when William Rogers drew up his will, he left his "warehouse by the waterside" in Yorktown to his only son, William, when he should become twenty-one years old (see Appendix IA). Because of the way the waterfront area developed, however, it is not possible to determine exactly where this warehouse was located or even when Rogers acquired it. When the county surveyor,

Lawrence Smith, laid out the boundaries of Yorktown in 1691, he did not include within the limits a narrow strip of land along the York River that lay between the water's edge and the higher ground to the south. By making his survey in this way, Smith was able to run the town's northern boundary along the high marl bluffs in two straight lines instead of along the irregular shoreline. The 50 acres included within the survey were divided up into 85 numbered rectangular half-acre lots and regularly spaced streets, but the approximately 5 acres of land on the waterfront were left unsurveyed for public use. Although Smith's intention seems to have been that this "Common Shore" would eventually be part of the town, he apparently did not foresee its vital importance and potential value.¹²

After 1700, as the new town grew and began to function as a port, a number of public and private facilities were soon needed. The best location for these wharves, ferry landings, stores, warehouses, and ordinaries was the shore area below the bluffs; and although the land was publicly owned, individuals began to build private structures there as mercantile and shipping activities increased. As early as 1704 deeds were recorded selling waterfront buildings, usually as adjuncts of lots in the town proper. Development along the shore was slow at first, but seems to have accelerated after 1715; references to warehouses, storehouses, and dwellings "under the hill" became more frequent in court records of property transfers. In 1738, possibly because of this increased development, the uncertain status of the 5 acre strip along the river became an issue of controversy. Gwyn Read, the only son of Benjamin Read, claimed ownership of the land on the grounds that his father had technically sold only the 50 acres included within the original town survey made in 1691. The Virginia General Assembly moved to clear up the uncertainty in 1738 when it passed a special act that confirmed the town's title to the waterfront and directed the trustees to pay Gwyn Read £100 in return for his surrendering any claim to the property. This act in effect extended the town's northern boundary to the low-water mark on the river, but the annexed land was to remain a public area for

everyone's use. Building and development in the waterfront area continued to keep pace with the growth of the town, and a 1755 sketch of Yorktown shows approximately twenty structures below the bluff clustered mostly between the mouth of Great Valley Road and the end of Read Street, and another small group just east of the end of Buckner Street (Figure 9 and 10). Just prior to the Revolution, the waterfront was a busy, crowded area of over fifty buildings (Figure 11). A map drawn after the siege of the town in 1781 to depict structures suitable for billeting French troops shows forty-five buildings under the hill that survived the destruction of the battle (Figure 12).¹³

Throughout the period from 1700 until after the Revolution, merchants and businessmen contributed to the improvements on the beach by putting up private buildings, both commercial and residential. Even after 1738 when this area was formally annexed by the town, it remained public land. Consequently, no survey or plat was drawn up to establish a regular plan of lots or private property boundaries comparable to the town plan of 1691. The apparent contradiction of privately owned improvements located on town-owned land must have caused much confusion and resulted in the haphazard arrangement of the stores and warehouses along the river. Since the owners of these facilities technically possessed only the buildings and the right to use an unspecified portion of associated land, the deeds and wills conveying these properties gave locations and descriptions in terms that were usually vague or in relation to other owners, natural features, or a public facility. A resident who decided to construct a building on the waterfront simply chose the most convenient vacant space, and as a result the area was a jumble of structures clustered around the streets leading up to the main part of town and crowded at the foot of the marl cliffs. Not until 1785, when a legislative act authorized the town trustees to allot the land on the beach to private owners, did this situation change. In 1788 a plan of the area was drawn up that created 64 additional numbered lots and streets out of the common shore. The irregular sizes, shapes, and arrangement of these lots as surveyed indicate that the plan



Figure 9. Yorktown as viewed from the York River in 1755 (sketched by John Gauntlett aboard the HMS Norwich anchored in the river).



Figure 10. Detail of 1755 sketch of Yorktown by John Gauntlett.

roughly reflected the traditional and existing patterns of land usage that had been established over the preceding eighty-some years.¹⁴

Because of the lack of specific information on Rogers' waterfront property and the generally confused status of ownership in that area, it is possible only to speculate about the location of Rogers' warehouse. The few clues seem to point to two locations as the most probable sites. As established earlier, Rogers had been using certain houses belonging to John Martin as early as 1711, one of which may have been a store or warehouse at the foot of Read Street near lots 126-127 and 132. In 1714, Martin sold a warehouse in this area to Cole Digges, indicating that Rogers may have built his own facility by that time. If Rogers decided to remain in the area, his building was probably in the vicinity of lots 126-127, 128-129, or 130-131.¹⁵ A more likely possibility is that Rogers built near the mouth of the road leading down the Great Valley near lots 110 or 117. In 1760 his only two surviving children sold to James Pride lots 51 and 55 and the "warehouse or Storehouse . . . at the waterside under the Hill" that had belonged to their father. Ten years later Pride sold lots 51 and 55, but the deed makes no mention of the warehouse, and no other record has been found of Pride disposing of this property. Since Pride later became involved with lots 110 and 117, he may have been concentrating his holdings in this area, which would indicate that the warehouse he bought from Rogers' heirs could have stood in the vicinity of lots 102-104, 108-109, or 117.¹⁶ Both locations would have been very convenient for Rogers since they were adjacent to several wharves and were situated at the foot of the two streets leading directly from the pottery factory complex on lots 51 and 55 to the riverfront. Certainly some sort of storage facility with easy access to a wharf would have been an important requirement for Rogers' various commercial involvements, especially for exporting the heavy, bulky, and fragile wares from the kilns and also for his brewing and shipping activities. It is likely that Rogers acquired a warehouse relatively soon after moving to Yorktown, perhaps as early as 1712.



Figure 11. Conjectural Appearance of Yorktown's Waterfront before the American Revolution. Sketch by Sidney King. Colonial National Historical Park.

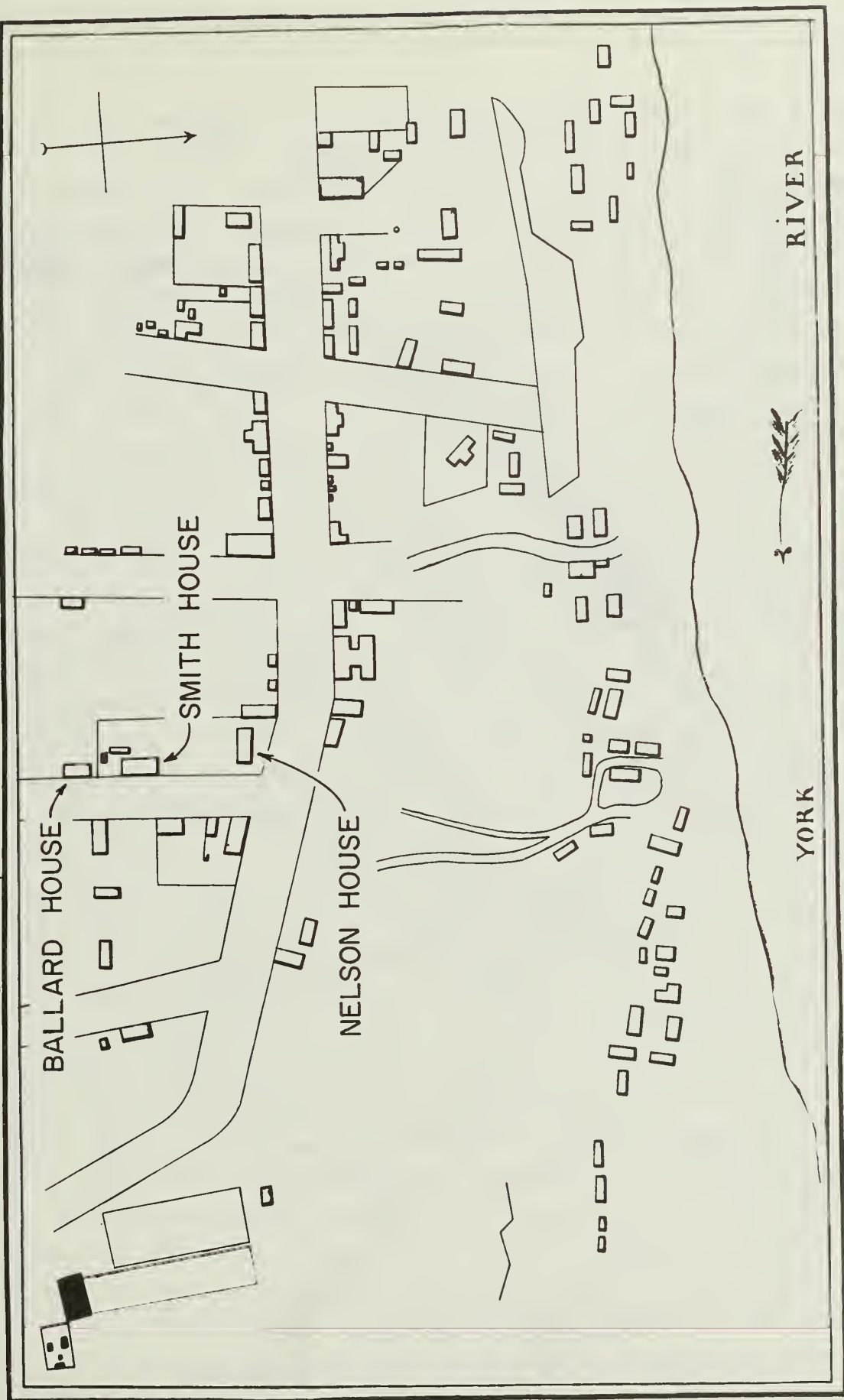
The Terrapin Point Tract

After acquiring lots 51 and 55 and a warehouse on the river, William Rogers seems to have waited twenty years before he added to his landholdings, but in 1731 he bought a small farm just south of Yorktown. In January of that year he paid William Stark £40 Virginia currency for a 25-acre tract described as being adjacent to Joseph Mountfort's millpond. Stark had only recently purchased this land from Mountfort for £23 in December 1728. Rogers still owned the tract, called "Tarripin Point," when he died. It was the only land he apparently ever owned in the countryside, all of his other real property being at Yorktown or Williamsburg. In his will Rogers left Terrapin Point to his wife Theodosia during her lifetime and then to his only son, William. Eventually his son-in-law Thomas Reynolds owned this tract, and in 1761 after his death it was sold to William Nelson for £37.¹⁷ Several plats from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries identify Terrapin Point as a large triangular-shaped tract of land (over 200 acres) lying in the angle formed by the junction of Great Run and Baptist Run about a mile and a half south of Yorktown. According to features mentioned in the deeds and plats, Rogers' small tract was situated on the southwest side of Great Run, opposite the Nelson family's Pidgeon Quarter land. By the time of the siege of Yorktown, Gen. Thomas Nelson, Jr., had a small farm development or quarter in this area.¹⁸

Lot K and The Gwyn Read Development

During the last few years of his life, from 1735 to 1739, William Rogers doubled his real estate holdings in and around Yorktown. His next purchase was probably the "Lott lying behind Cheshires' Lott number 63 . . . bought of Mr. Gwyn Reade," which he devised to his wife, Theodosia, in his will (see Appendix IA). By the mid-1730's, Yorktown had grown to such an extent that development was starting to expand beyond the town's original boundaries, not only along the waterfront but also to the south-

Plan d'York town pour servir à l'établissement du Quartier d'hiver du Régiment de Séignobois, et des Grenadiers et Chasseurs de St-Onge le 12. 9. 1781.



BERTHIER BILLETING PLAN, 1781, SHOWING LOCATION OF
NELSON, SMITH, AND BALLARD HOUSES.

Alexandre Berthier, *Plan d'York town pour servir à l'établissement du Quartier d'hiver... 1781.*
Manuscript plan, Princeton University Library.

FIGURE 12

west part of the town. All of the original 85 lots had long since been granted and developed, but the demand for inexpensive, undeveloped lots continued. About 1737 Gwyn Read won a favorable decision in a lawsuit that had an important impact on Yorktown's future growth. Read had contended that his father, Benjamin Read, had unlawfully sold over 150 acres of entailed land that should have been left to him. The court decision not only led to Gwyn Read's receiving £100 in return for giving up his claim to the waterfront area, but also gave him a clear title to about 100 acres of land adjoining Yorktown's southern boundary. Read promptly divided much of this tract into small sections, including approximately 30 half-acre lots that were rapidly sold to town residents (Figure 13). A few of the wealthiest residents bought sections of 5 to 10 acres, or blocks of 4 to 6 of the half-acre lots, and used them for their gardens, stables, and other less attractive outbuildings, or to rent out to poorer people. The rest of these lots were bought by various craftsmen and tradesmen, or residents who wanted a lot for outbuildings. Since the lots were initially sold relatively cheaply, for £5 to £7, they offered an alternative to the more expensive developed lots in the town. Most of the deeds for these sales were recorded in Virginia's General Court, and the records were subsequently destroyed during the Civil War. Although the lots and additional streets were apparently laid out in an orderly way, no survey or plat identifying Read's lots has survived from the colonial period. In 1757 an unknown number of these lots in what came to be called the Gwyn Read Suburb or Development were annexed by the town; and later, in the nineteenth century, most of them were assigned alphabetical designations.¹⁹

As in the case of the waterfront area, the lack of an early plat of the Gwyn Read Development often makes it difficult to pinpoint locations of lots, but the description Rogers gave in his will certainly refers to lot K. Either lot M or lot N would presumably have been more convenient to his home on lots 51 and 55, but his next-door neighbor John Ballard had bought both lots M and N as well as several others from Gwyn Read in January 1737,

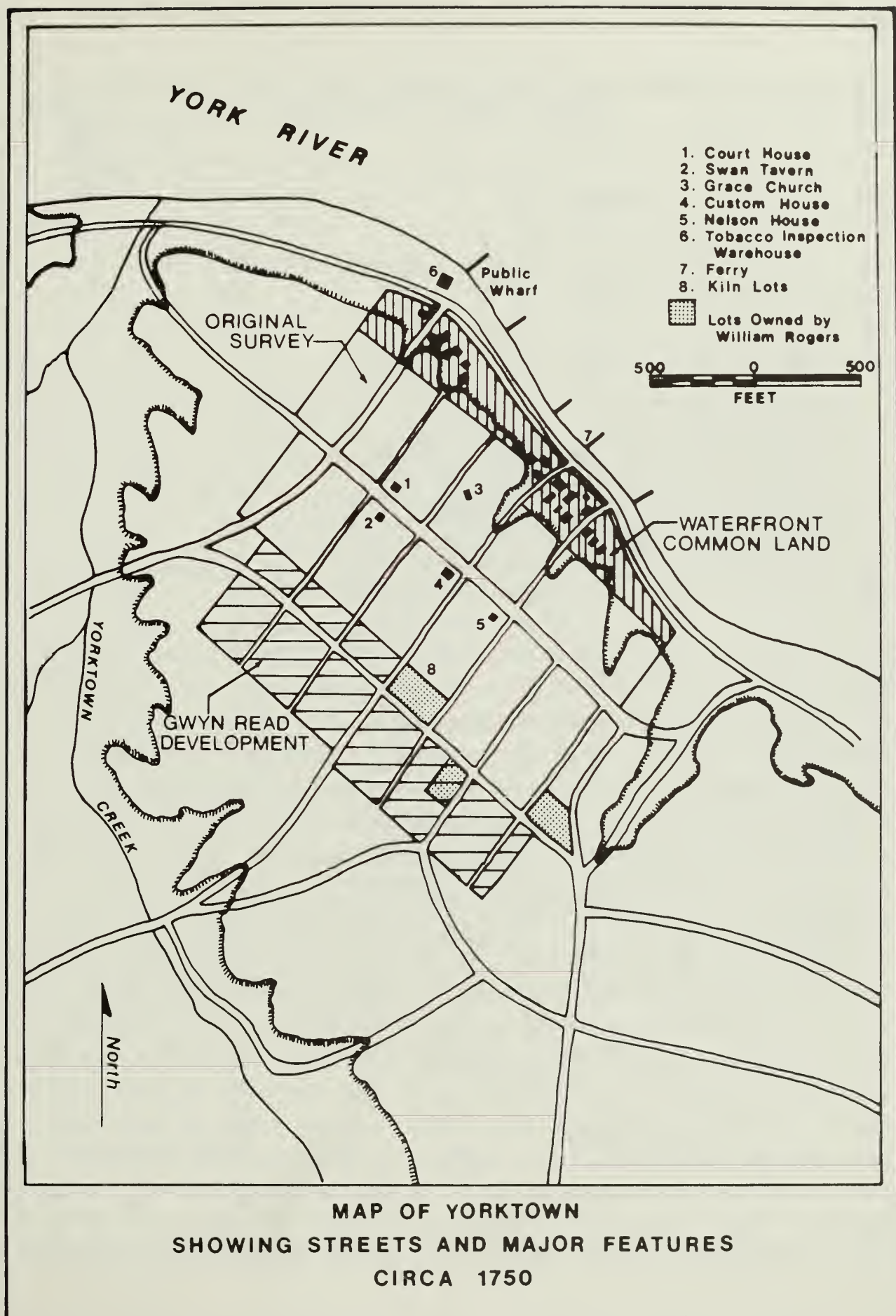


FIGURE 13

which suggests that Rogers did not buy lot K until later that year.²⁰

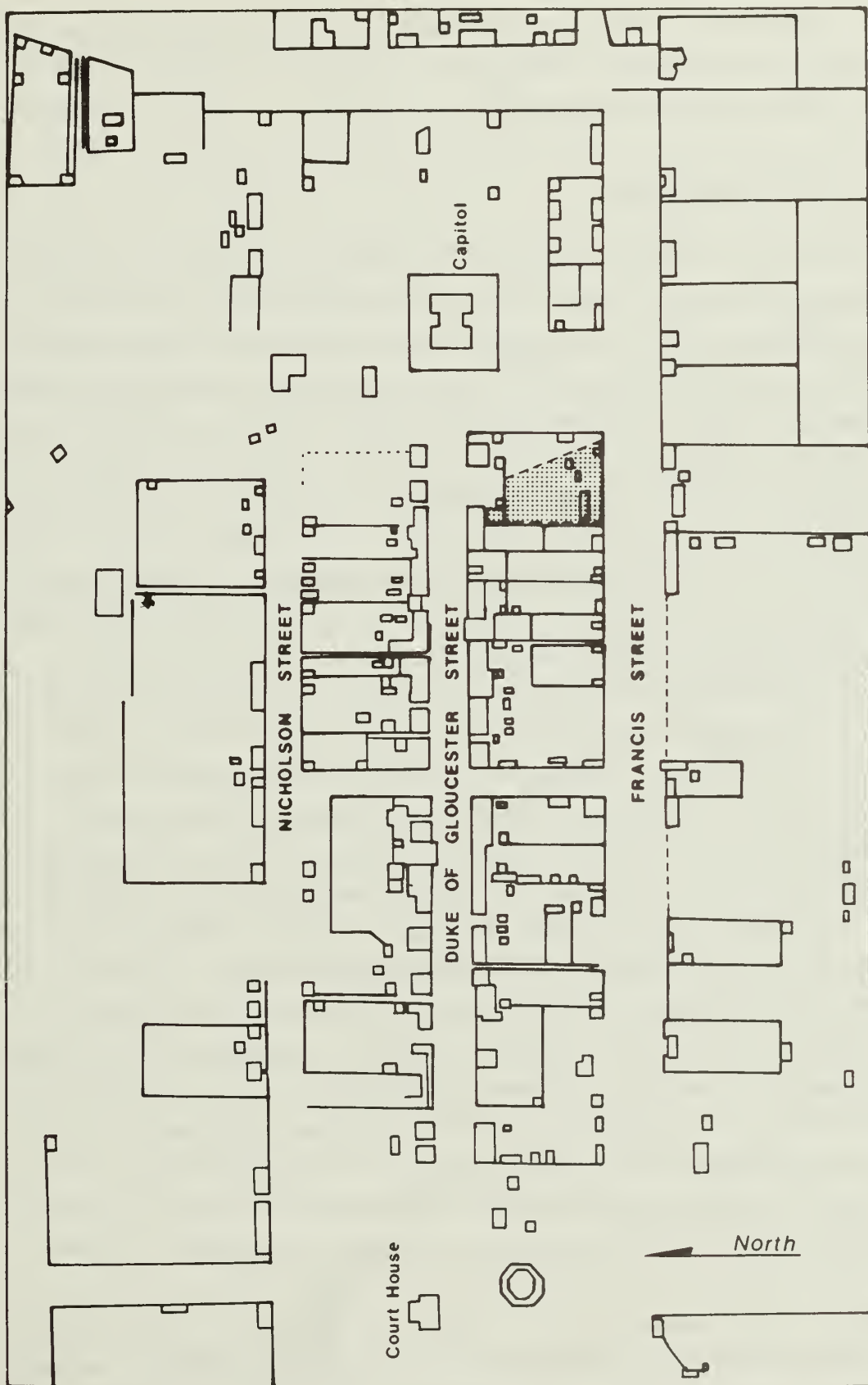
The Store in Williamsburg

On September 10, 1736, the Virginia Gazette printed the following advertisement:

To be Lett, or sold, very reasonably,

The House which formerly belong'd to Col. Jennings, in which the Bristol Store was lately kept, being the next house to John Clayton's, Esq; in Williamsburg: It is a large commodious House, with Two Lots, a Garden, Coach House, Stable, and other Outhouses, and Conveniences. Enquire of Capt. William Rogers, in York, or of William Parks, Printer in Williamsburg.

This property was probably the "two Lotts lying & being in the city of Wmsburgh together with the Dwelling House and other houses thereunto belonging" that Rogers left to his wife in his will (see Appendix IA). These are the only references that have been found relating to any property Rogers owned in Williamsburg. Rogers may have been acting as an agent for someone else when he advertised these lots in the newspaper, and then bought them for himself, or he may have owned them already. Since part of Williamsburg lay within James City County, the deeds that would explain where these lots were and when and from whom Rogers bought them, were probably destroyed in the 1860's along with other records from that country. Without these documents, it is not possible to make an exact identification of this property, but there are indications that Rogers' holdings were in the vicinity of lots 25, 26, and 27 on Block 9 (Figure 14). John Clayton seems to have had connections with these lots, especially the southern sections that face on Francis Street near the southwest corner of the Capitol Square. This part of Williamsburg was part of James City County, and although there is a gap in the records from 1732 to 1749, by



DETAIL FROM A PLAN OF WILLIAMSBURG, 1782

POSSIBLE LOCATION OF WILLIAM ROGERS'S PROPERTY

Redrawn from Plan de la Ville et emirone
de Williamsburg en Virginia, America le 11. Mai
1782. Manuscript plan, College of William and Mary.

FIGURE 14

mid-century Yorktown's Nelson family had come into possession of the southern sections of lots 26 and 27 as well as another lot in the corner of the Capitol Square.²¹

Lot 75 and a Suburban Tract

In September 1738 William Rogers paid Francis and Elizabeth Moss £15 current Virginia money for lot 75 in the far southeast corner of Yorktown. The low purchase price indicates that the lot was relatively undeveloped, i.e., that no valuable buildings stood on the property. This is surprising, since this lot had been owned and developed by several people before 1738. Lot 75 was one of the last original town lots to be claimed, and it was not until November 1716 that the trustees granted it to Samuel Cooper. His purpose in obtaining this property became clear in February of the following year when Cooper gave the lot and all the buildings on it to his daughter, Sarah, and her husband, Lewis St. Leger. In a complex deed Cooper specified that his grandson, Abraham St. Leger, was to be given half of the lot to live on when he came of age and was to receive the other half when his parents died. Cooper entailed, or restricted the inheritance of, the lot to Abraham's male heirs. If Sarah and Lewis St. Leger were to have no surviving heirs at all, the lot was to be used for a public school for the town. Despite these restrictions, Abraham St. Leger sold lot 75 to Benjamin Moss prior to November 1735. In his will, written at this time, Moss devised the lot to his son, Francis, along with enough timber to build a dwelling and a shop. It is not known if Lewis St. Leger, Abraham St. Leger, or Francis Moss ever built any structures on this lot, but they must not have been very substantial in any case, or the price would have been more than the £15 Rogers paid Francis Moss in 1738.²² It is possible that fire had destroyed the original structure on the lot.

William Rogers made his last known land acquisition the year he died. In March 1739 he paid Edmund and Agnes Smith £15 current Virginia money for two-thirds of an acre of land "lying next [to]

and adjoining on the South East side" of lot 75. This was one of the irregularly sized parcels of land Gwyn Read had sold from his 100-acre tract in addition to numerous half-acre lots. Smith had bought this parcel from Read in May 1738, less than a year before selling it to Rogers. According to descriptions given in the deed of sale to Rogers and a later deed for lot 75, the parcel of land was located within a triangular-shaped area between the southeast side of lot 75 and the Yorkhampton Road. This road was the main route to Hampton in the eighteenth century. It began at the eastern end of Main street and ran along the boundary of the town adjacent to lots 72, 73, and 74, where it then turned off in a more southeasterly direction. This parcel of land, along with lot 75, gave Rogers a little over one acre of land in the area.²³

The Use and Disposition of Rogers' Property

For the first twenty of the nearly thirty years William Rogers lived in Yorktown, his domestic and economic activities were centered on lots 51 and 55 and at his warehouse on the waterfront. There is no indication that he owned or rented any other land in the Yorktown-York County area before 1730. He must have built a dwelling and the usual two or three outbuildings on these two lots soon after obtaining them in 1711, and he was still living there when he died in 1739. Partial archaeological excavation of lots 51 and 55 has already uncovered an extensive pottery factory complex, including two kilns and a series of adjoining brick structures that served as workshops. In addition, several smaller wooden post structures stood nearby, but their use is still uncertain. All these structures stood in a long row along the northern side of both lots. At the height of Rogers' activities from 1720 to 1740, the lots must have had a crowded, cluttered appearance. There were at least six indentured servants and eight Negro slaves in Rogers' labor force before 1730 (see Appendix II), and they must have been housed either on these two lots or possibly at the warehouse. Little is known about the warehouse or storehouse in the waterfront

area. but aside from its obvious usefulness for Rogers in his shipping activities, it may also have been the site of his brewing and distilling operations.²⁴

In his will Rogers directed that lots 51 and 55 and the warehouse were to be inherited by his only son, William Rogers, Jr., when he reached the age of twenty-one. In case William Jr. died without leaving any heirs, this property was to be divided among his three daughters, Susanna (Rogers) Reynolds, Sarah Rogers, and Hannah Rogers (see Appendix IA). In fact, William Jr. survived his father by only several years, dying shortly after he turned twenty-one and leaving no wife, no children, and no will.²⁵ Although the will of William Rogers, Sr., had been specific about what was to be done in this instance, it was some time before the division of the property was settled, probably because two of the daughters were underage and unmarried. In February 1743, Susanna's husband, Capt. Thomas Reynolds, obtained a deed from George Rogers, an older brother of William Rogers, Sr., who lived in Braintree, Essex, England. In return for £20 sterling, George Rogers conveyed to Reynolds any property or estate he might have inherited upon his brother's and nephew's deaths. This suggests that Reynolds was making use of the property at the time; perhaps he hoped the deed would strengthen his and Susanna's claim to it.²⁶

By 1752 Sarah Rogers had married William Montgomery, Jr., a local merchant, and they left Virginia to live in England in June of that year. Hannah Rogers, the third and probably youngest daughter, died sometime prior to the mid-1750s without ever marrying or having any children. After Hannah's death, Sarah and William Montgomery decided to challenge Thomas Reynolds' use and possession of lots 51 and 55 and of the warehouse. In a judgment won in the General Court of Virginia in October 1758, William Montgomery and his wife, Sarah, were awarded one moiety [one half] of "one messuage [dwelling], one garden, one stable, one pothouse, one warehouse, and three acres of arable land." Except for the 3 acres of land (no explanation has been found as to where the land was), this is obviously a description of

lots 51 and 55 and of the warehouse. In August 1760 Sarah Montgomery (now a widow acting through John Snelson, her attorney in Virginia) and Susanna Reynolds (also a widow) jointly sold the property to James Pride of Yorktown for £384 current Virginia money. Reporting the outcome of the auction, John Snelson wrote to Sarah Montgomery that the houses had been sold for £302 and the "old warehouse at the waterside" for £82. Snelson observed that this was generally believed to be twice their value as they were in a "ruinous condition." James Pride, the purchaser, was occupying the property, perhaps renting it, before he actually bought it.

Pride owned lots 51 and 55 for ten years, but it is not known what use he made of them. It has been suggested that an ordinary was located there before the Revolution. He also owned other property in and around Yorktown and served as the Naval Officer for the York River district. In April of 1770, he sold lots 51 and 55 to George Chaplin, a butcher, for £350. The deed to Chaplin described the two lots as those "commonly known by the name of the Pothouse lots." No reference was made to the warehouse that Pride had bought along with these lots ten years earlier, and no other conveyance by Pride of any property that might be the warehouse (or any mention at all) has been found. Since title to waterfront property before 1785 was vested in buildings, not surveyed lots, Pride may have abandoned the warehouse by 1770 if it was in as poor a condition as Snelson implied in 1760, or it may have been destroyed during the siege in 1781. In either case, there might not have been any record of conveyance for the land on which it stood. George Chaplin did not have the money to pay Pride for his two lots, and several months later in August 1770 Chaplin mortgaged the "Pothouse lots" to James Anderson, a Williamsburg blacksmith, to guarantee his payment. At this point there is a gap in the chain of title for both of these lots, and the sequence of owners is uncertain for the rest of the eighteenth century. In March of 1784 Thomas Nelson, Jr., gave to Nathaniel Nelson a lot that could be lot 51, according to the description given in the deed. The deed does not explain

how Nelson came to own the lot, and no explanation has been found at this time in the records. In 1812 the heirs of William Cary sold to Ann Burt, the lot Cary had lived on described in the deed as lot 55. Again, no statement was made regarding how Cary came to own the lot, and there is some doubt that the deed refers to lot 55 since Cary is thought to have lived on lot 54.²⁸

There is evidence that lots 51 and 55 were the site of a state hospital during the early years of the Revolution. In October of 1777 the governor and the council of the state of Virginia paid James Anderson £240 for a "commodious dwelling house and outhouses at York town" that could serve as a hospital and save the state the expense of building one. A statement of public losses incurred during the siege in 1781 listed a "Hospital, a Kitchen, dairy, and other necessary Houses, a garden well paled in, and a large Stable all pulled down and destroyed by Ld. Cornwallis" and valued at £500.²⁹ If George Chaplin defaulted in his mortgage to James Anderson, then lots 51 and 55 were probably the property Anderson sold the state. Land owned by the state often passed back into private hands by unusual methods, which might explain the lack of evidence of ownership in the York County records. Further research may clarify this question and establish who owned the pothouse lots after 1770. If these lots were the lots sold by Anderson in 1777, then at least five and possibly six or seven structures were standing there in 1781. The hospital may have been operated in either the "dwelling house" mentioned in 1777 or in one of the outbuildings, possibly the large pottery factory structure. The British army demolished many houses and buildings while fortifying the town in 1781. Destruction was especially complete in the Gwyn Read Development and along the row of lots on the southern side of the town, and it is doubtful if any buildings on the pothouse lots would have survived the siege. It does appear, however, that William Rogers' dwelling house, several associated outbuildings, and parts of the pottery factory stood until 1760 and perhaps as late as 1781.³⁰

William Rogers devised his Terrapin Point farm to his wife, Theodosia, during her lifetime and then to his son, William Rogers, Jr. Theodosia, however, outlived her son by almost ten years; her

son-in-law Thomas Reynolds had possession of the farm when he died in 1759 and possibly as early as 1743. In February, 1743, shortly after the death of William Rogers, Jr., Reynolds obtained an agreement from George Rogers, an older brother of William Rogers, Sr. In return for £20 sterling, George Rogers, who lived in England, sold to Reynolds any right to property in Virginia that had devolved to Rogers upon the death of his nephew, who had left no will and no children. It is not clear whether Reynolds was trying to claim all of the property left to William Rogers, Jr., or just Terrapin Point. When Reynolds died in 1759, seven years after Theodosia Rogers' death in 1752, his will directed that part of his land was to be sold. In 1761 the executors of his estate sold Terrapin Point to William Nelson for £37-10-0 current Virginia money, and the deed asserted that Reynolds had owned the land by virtue of the 1743 conveyance from George Rogers.³¹ Reynolds may have had possession of the farm from 1743 despite Theodosia Rogers' lifetime right to use the property. It is possible that Theodosia never asserted her legal right to the use of the farm.

There is evidence that William Rogers was using his land at Terrapin Point to raise cattle and sheep and also to grow corn, wheat, and perhaps tobacco. Rogers' farming activities will be discussed in more detail below. There was probably some development and a few buildings at Terrapin Point during Rogers' lifetime. A number of his thirty-six slaves may have lived there, and a few farm buildings to store crops would have been needed. It is not know if Thomas Reynolds continued farming operations there until 1759, but he did own some cattle. By 1781 William Nelson's heirs had inherited Terrapin Point and a small quarter or farm was being operated there with at least two major buildings. The farm had been merged into larger tracts owned by the Nelson family in the area before the Revolution.³²

No further references have been found in the records to the two lots and the dwelling house in Williamsburg that Willaim Rogers left to his wife. It is possible only to surmise what uses he had for this property and his reasons for buying it. Rogers was referred to as a merchant as early at 1725, and the Williamsburg house had

served as a store before 1736, so he may have operated some type of mercantile outlet there, selling his ceramic wares and other merchandise. He might have acquired this property, however, to rent out or as a speculative investment. Rogers' will is not completely clear about this property. It may have been left to Theodosia without any restrictions, but was probably left to her for her lifetime only and then was to go to his daughters Sarah and Hannah. In her will Theodosia did not mention any real property in specific terms, but left her entire estate to Sarah's husband, William Montgomery (see Appendices IA and ID). No record of a conveyance of this property by any of William Rogers' family has been found. If the Williamsburg property was in the area of lots 25, 26, and 27 on Francis Street as conjectured above, any deeds would have been recorded in the James City County or General Court records and therefore lost. Either Theodosia Rogers or William Montgomery may have sold the lots to William and Thomas Nelson who owned parts of lots 26 and 27 by 1749. The Nelson-Galt House, which stands on the southern part of the two lots, was built before 1710 and may have been the dwelling Rogers owned.³³

Only one of his children, Susanna, was an adult (or had married) when William Rogers wrote his will in May of 1739. Susanna, who seems to have been the oldest child, had married Thomas Reynolds, a ship captain and later a merchant, sometime before 1739. Rogers left her lot 75 and "the Brickhouse and all other Improvements upon it." He also directed that one chain of land (33 feet) be added to lot 75, to be taken off the three-quarter acre lot he had bought from Edmund Smith. Since the original Yorktown lots had measured 132 ft. by 165 ft., or half an acre, the addition of a 33 ft. by 165 ft. strip to lot 75 created a square of 165 ft. by 165 ft., or a little over six-tenths of an acre. The brick house must not have been finished in May 1739 since Rogers provided the "in case I dye before the house is done I then leave also bricks enough to finish the house together with the window frames and doors, and what other framing was design'd for her house." Construction probably had begun shortly after Rogers bought the lot in September 1738. Both the enlarged lot and the brick house may have been a wedding gift for

her recently married daughter.³⁴ Rogers' death in the fall of 1739 seems to have delayed completion of the brick house. An entry in the account of the settlement of Rogers' estate indicates that in 1741 Theodosia Rogers paid Aaron Phillips £24 for "buildg a house for Capt. Reynolds." Phillips was a successful bricklayer who lived near Yorktown.³⁵

Lot 75 remained the property and the residence of Thomas and Susanna Reynolds for the rest of their lives. Upon his death in 1759, Thomas Reynolds left the lot to his wife for her lifetime and then to their only son, William. Susanna Reynolds confirmed this when she died in 1768, leaving William "the House and Lott where I live." William Reynolds kept lot 75 only a few years. In May 1772 he sold it to Thomas Archer for £700 and a year later bought lots 29 and 31 near the Swan Tavern on the main street of town.³⁶

William Rogers was still living on lots 51 and 55 when he wrote his will, but he was planning to build a new dwelling on the land he had bought from Edmund Smith, adjacent to lot 75. This parcel of land (less the strip to be added to lot 75) was bequeathed to his wife, Theodosia. Rogers specified that if "I shou'd dye before I build upon it I then leave all the plank and framing stuff together with the window frames and all the other things design'd for the house to my sd. Wife and not to be appraised with my Estate." Rogers planned for one of his indentured servants who was skilled as a carpenter to build the house, and his will directed that the servant was to complete his term working for Theodosia if he had not become free by the time of Rogers' death. Unlike the brick structure on lot 75, the new house Rogers was planning to build for himself and his wife was a frame dwelling. It is not known whether William Rogers began this house before he died, but as late as August 1743 Theodosia deducted over £58 from the settlement of his estate for "Sundries to finishing the House I now live in," indicating that the house was completed by that date. In addition to providing his wife with a new house on the parcel of land adjacent to lot 75, Rogers also left her lot K in the Gwyn Read Development. These lots were often used for stables

and other outbuildings by the wealthier residents of the town, and it is possible that lot K was the site of a stable, a house for Rogers' coach, or living quarters for some of his slaves.³⁷

Theodosia continued to live in the new house until her death in 1752. She left her entire estate to William Montgomery, a merchant who had married her daughter Sarah. Montgomery had apparently only recently come to Yorktown from England, and almost immediately after Theodosia's death, he and Sarah returned to his home there. Before leaving Yorktown and shortly after Theodosia's will was proved in court, William Montgomery placed this advertisement in the June 18, 1752, issue of the Virginia Gazette:

On Wednesday, the 27th Instant, at York Town, will be sold, at Publick Auction, the Dwelling-House of the Subscriber, with the Furniture, a Chariot, Harness, and four Horses. Six Months Credit will be allowed, the Purchaser giving Bond and Security, as usual, to

William Montgomery

John Norton, another English merchant who resided in Yorktown for some years, purchased both the dwelling lot and lot K for £400 current Virginia money at this auction and advertised then for rent in July:³⁸

To Be Let, and enter'd on immediately

The Dwelling House lately belonging to Mr. William Montgomery in York Town, with a good Garden, Kitchen, Stable, and other Out-houses, conveniently situated, For the Terms enquire of John Norton.

The advertisement indicates that there was extensive development on this parcel of land, even assuming the stable was located on lot K. It also appears likely that William and Sarah Montgomery had been living with Theodosia Rogers since their marriage and that her death sometime prior to June 1752 prompted them to sell their inherited property and leave for England. John Norton still owned this land and dwelling as late as 1772.³⁹ All of the buildings on these three parcels of land (lot K, lot 75, and Theodosia's adjacent dwelling lot) were probably torn down by

1781 since they were located on or just outside the British defensive earthworks erected around the town.

Many maps were made of Yorktown by British, French, and American cartographers during and after the 1781 siege, but few show any buildings located on the property Rogers had owned. One British map drawn before the siege does show a long building that appears to be located on lot 54 or 55, but this and most of the other maps are not detailed enough to locate features precisely.⁴⁰ One of the most detailed plans, drawn by a French engineer, shows buildings on lots 50 and 54 (including the present-day Ballard House), but stops short of depicting lots 51 and 55 or any part of the most southern area of the town (Figure 12). A careful survey of many other maps uncovered no additional evidence of structures standing on Rogers' Yorktown lots in the 1780s.⁴¹ It seems certain that any buildings standing on these lots in 1781 were either torn down by the British to make room for their defensive fortifications or else were destroyed by artillery fire during the siege. It is not surprising that the earliest fire insurance policies issued by the Mutual Assurance Society in the 1790s, none have been found insuring structures on the lots Rogers had owned.⁴² A number of other documents, nineteenth-century plats, and Civil War maps were also surveyed with only inconclusive results.

Evidence of Additional Landholdings

A few isolated references suggest that William Rogers may have rented and possibly owned land in addition to that described above. He directed in his will that "all the rest of my personel Estate in Virga. or elsewhere be appraised," and he left to his son "all other my Lands and Tenements wherever lying & being" in addition to those in Yorktown and excepting what was left to his wife. These may have been merely catchall legal phrases that did not refer to specific parcels of land. His estate settlement, however, indicates that his widow paid "Mrs. Read" £3 for rent in 1740 and also paid three different men for levies the same year.⁴³

hese entries may mean that Rogers had been renting additional land for agricultural uses, and that some of his slaves were working on the land under overseers. The evidence connecting Rogers with farming operations could be explained more satisfactorily if he had been renting other farmland in addition to the small Terrapin Point tract.

There is also indirect evidence that Rogers owned land some distance from Yorktown. When his widow, Theodosia, died in 1752, the York County Court ordered that her estate in Hanover County be appraised. If an inventory or appraisal was ever made it seems not to have been recorded in the York County Records.⁴⁴ Such court orders usually indicate that the deceased person owned a "quarter" or a farm being worked by slaves under an overseer located in some other county. Rogers' widow could have bought this land after his death, or inherited it from her husband. Since her will does not identify any property specifically in Hanover County, and since that county's records have been mostly destroyed, it is difficult to identify just what she owned. Although neither William's nor Theodosia's name appears in the extant Hanover records, several clues do seem to substantiate a connection between Rogers' family and the area.

In 1751, a year before Theodosia Rogers died, a William Montgomery was listed as a landowner in St. Paul's Parish in the eastern part of Hanover County. This one reference seems to be the only time he is mentioned. It is possible that this was William Rogers' son-in-law who moved back to England from Yorktown in 1752, shortly after his wife's mother died.⁴⁵ If this was the same William Montgomery, he may have sold his Hanover property to Thomas Reynolds (another son-in-law) before leaving Virginia. An unrelated family with the surname Reynolds was established in this part of Hanover County by the 1730s, making it almost impossible given the fragmented state of the records to determine if Thomas Reynolds of Yorktown owned land there. It may be relevant, however, that from 1787 to 1797 a William Reynolds was listed as a non-resident landowner in Hanover County. William Rogers had a grandson named William Reynolds who was living in York County in the

1780s. In his will, William Reynolds described his own property in terms too general to determine if any of the land he owned was in Hanover. Without the essential local records, it will be difficult to establish just what connection William Rogers had with the Hanover County area.⁴⁶

Two aspects stand out when the pattern of Rogers' landholdings is considered. First, he acquired most of his property during the last third of his career in Yorktown. Second, unlike many other successful merchants who built substantial estates from commercial activities, he apparently did not invest in large tracts of rural property. Considering his background and business orientation he may have been an essentially urban man with no ambitions to become a planter. On the other hand, it is possible that he had been renting farmland and intended either to buy an already developed plantation or to obtain a land grant in one of the newly settled regions of the colony.

FOOTNOTES

1. Edward M. Riley, "The Founding and Development of Yorktown, Virginia, 1691-1781" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1942), 16-28. See William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large: Being A Collection of All The Laws of Virginia, From The First Session of The Legislature In The Year 1619 (Richmond, Philadelphia, and New York, 1809-1823), II, 172-176, 471-478, for the texts of these acts. For a geographer's explanation of why towns failed to develop in Virginia during the 17th century, see Grim, "Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia."

2. Hening, ed., Statutes at Large, III, 53-69.

3. Riley, "Founding and Development of Yorktown," 29-46.

4. Ibid., 18-32, 47-49; John W. Reys, Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland (Charlottesville, Va., 1972), 65-91. See John C. Rainbolt, "The Virginia Vision: A Political History of the Efforts to Diversify the Economy of the Old Dominion, 1650-1706" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1966) for a study of the growing divergence between British and colonial expectations regarding attempts to establish towns and of the reasons most of these attempts failed.

5. Riley, "Founding and Development of Yorktown," 47-58, 158-160, 182-185; Hening, ed., Statutes at Large, II, 186-189. This act also increased from four to twelve months the time limit imposed on lot owners to complete building a house at least twenty by twenty foot square.

6. Riley, "Founding and Development of Yorktown," 59-68; Henning, ed., Statutes at Large, III, 404-419; Grim, "Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," 328-353, 404-424; Peter V. Bergstrom and Kevin P. Kelly, "'Well Built Towns, convenient ports and markets,'": The Beginnings of Yorktown, 1690-1720," Paper presented at the Southern Historical Association, November 13, 1980.

7. Orders and Wills No. 14 (1709-1716), 119, 123.

8. Deeds and Bonds No. 2 (1701-1713), Lawson to Martin, 138-139, and Trustees to Martin, 247-248; Deeds and Bonds No. 3 (1713-1729), Martin to Digges, 12-13, and Martin to Bickerdike, 193-194.

9. It was not uncommon for industries of this sort to be located in this area. From 1703 to 1705 John Martin had owned lots 56 and 57 and "a storehouse & still house . . . in the valley adjacent to the sd two lots of land on the wast land at High water mark . . . commonly called Sessions his landing," Deeds and Bonds No. 2 (1701-1713), 94, 124-126.

10. Deeds and Bonds No. 2 (1701-1713), Trustees to Rogers, 365-366. The deed states that Rogers paid only 180 pounds of tobacco for both lots. The set cost was 180 pounds for each lot granted by the trustees; see Deeds and Bonds No. 2 (1701-1713), 298-299, 334-336, 375, 380-381. Rogers probably did pay the usual price since he was credited for 360 pounds of tobacco paid to the county for "2 Porttland Lotts" in the county levy for 1711, see Orders and Wills No. 14 (1709-1716), 123.

11. Deeds and Bonds No. 2 (1701-1713), Trustees to Walker, 246-247 and Trustees to Cheshire, 280-281. Lot 51 may have been granted once before prior to the 1707 deed to Cheshire. A plat of the town made in 1691 was used to record the names of successive lot owners until after 1700. Rogers' name was added under Walker's on lot 55, but on lot 51 his name was added under that of "Wm. [Anderson ?]." No other evidence has been found to indicate who this man was or how long he owned lot 51 before forfeiting his title. Deeds, Orders, and Wills No. 9 (1691-1694), 70.

12. Hatch, Yorktown's Waterfront, 2-7. See also his illustrations Nos. 1-2.

13. Ibid., 7-9, 13-18, 49. See Plates 0 and 0 in this study.

14. Ibid., 10-12. See Figures 3 and 4 in this study.

15. Ibid., 13-18. This conclusion is based largely on evidence that other merchants were active on lots 123-125 and 132-134 during the period before 1740.

16. Deeds No. 6 (1755-1763), Reynolds and Montgomery to Pride, 267-271; Deeds No. 8 (1769-1777), Pride to Chaplin, 42-43; Hatch, Yorktown's Waterfront, 36-38, 120-126, 200-210.

17. Deeds and Bonds No. 3 (1713-1729), Mountfort to Stark, 499-501; Deeds No. 4 (1729-1740), Stark to Rogers, 71-76; Deeds No. 6 (1755-1763), Reynolds' Executors to Nelson, 338-342.

18. Plat Book No. 1, 274; Plat Book No. 2, 24, 29; Deed Book No. 21 (18 -18), 498; Deed Book No. 6 (1777-1791), Nelson to Nelson, 352; Charles E. Hatch, Jr. and Jerome A. Greene,

Combined Study: Developed Sites and Colonial Rural Fences, Yorktown Battlefield (Denver, Co., 1974), 39.

19. Edward M. Riley, "Suburban Development of Yorktown, Virginia, During the Colonial Period," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (hereafter VMHB), LX (1952), 522-526. See also Figures 2, 3, and 4 in this study.

20. Wills and Inventories No. 20 (174501759), 3-6; Deeds No. 6 (1755-1763), Ballard to Thompson, 350-353. The phrase "behind Cheshires Lott Number 63" could also be interpreted to refer to lots 58, 59, 62, 66, or 67. A search of the chain of title of these lots in the 1740s, however, indicates they were never owned by Rogers. See Edward M. Riley, "Preliminary Report on the Physical History of Yorktown, 1691-1800" (Manuscript Report, Colonial National Historical Park @hereafter CNHP], Yorktown, n.d.).

21. Mary A. Stephenson, "History of the Nelson-Galt House (Robertson House): Block 9, Colonial Lots 26 and 27" (Manuscript Report, Research Department, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation [hereafter CW], Williamsburg, Va., 1945-1951), 1-8; Mary Goodwin, "The Walthoe House" (Manuscript Report, CW, 1950), 1-6; ibid., "Marot's or the English Coffee House" (Manuscript Report, CW, 1951), 2-23; Reps, Tidewater Towns, Figures 100 and 119. See also Figure 5 in this study.

22. Deeds No. 4 (1729-1740), Moss to Rogers, 514-515; Deeds and Bonds No. 3 (1713-1729), Trustees to Cooper, 140-141 and Cooper to St. Leger, 151-152; Wills and Inventories [including orders] No. 18 (1732-1740), 250-252.

23. Deeds No. 4 (1729-1740), Smith to Rogers, 550-51. This lot or parcel of land has previously been identified as lot 74 and as lot H, see Watkins and Hume, "Poor Potter" of Yorktown, 87, and also Thompson, Historic Structure Report, 26-27. The chain of title for lot 74 before 1750, however, indicates Rogers never had title to this lot, nor does the description given in the 1739 deed fit lot H since it lies on the southwest side of lot 75. See Riley, "Physical History of Yorktown." A later deed for lot 75 dating from 1772 describes it as bounded on the southeast by a lot of John Norton's that he bought from William Montgomery, and on the southwest and northwest by streets, see Deeds No. 8 (1769-1777), Reynolds to Archer, 221-222.

24. Rogers was required by law to build structures on his two lots within twelve months, see note 5 above. Judging from his will (Appendix I-A), it seems certain that Rogers was still living on lots 51 and 55 in 1739.

25. Wills and Inventories No. 19 (1740-1746), 98.

26. Deeds No. 5 (1741-1754), Rogers to Reynolds, 64-66.

27. Virginia Gazette, May 22, 1752; Deeds No. 6 (1755-1763), Montgomery to Snelson, 280-286 and Reynolds and Montgomery to Pride, 267-271; John Snelson to Sarah Montgomery, July 5, 1760, John Snelson Letterbook, 1757-1775 (University of North Carolina). See note 29 below.

28. Deeds No. 8 (1769-1777), Pride to Chaplin, 42-43 and Chaplin to Anderson, 59-61; Deed Book No. 6 (1777-1791), Nelson to Nelson, 200-201, also Powell to Cary, 1-2; Deeds No. 8

(1809-1820), Heirs of Cary to Burt, 155; Wills and Inventories No. 23 (1783-1811), 675-677.

29. H. R. McIlwaine et al., eds., Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, 1776-1783 (Richmond, 1931-1967), I, 453-454, II, 11; Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in [the] British Invasion of 1731, Bound Manuscript, 79 (Virginia State Library); Treasurer's Office Cash Book, 1777-1778, f. 76b (Virginia State Library); Edward M. Riley, "Yorktown During the Revolution: Part I, From 1774 to the Occupation of Yorktown by Cornwallis in 1781," VMHB, LVII (1949), 35-36.

30. Hatch, Colonial Yorktown's Main Street, 112-115; Riley, "Founding and Development of Yorktown," 269-271; Erwin N. Thompson, Historic Resource Study: The British Defenses of Yorktown, 1781 (Denver, Co., 1976), 71-75, 142-144, 228-229.

31. Deeds No. 5 (1741-1754), Rogers to Reynolds, 64-66; Deeds No. 6 (1755-1763), Executors of Reynolds to Nelson, 338-342. See also Appendices I-A and I-F for the wills of both William Rogers and Thomas Reynolds.

32. Wills and Inventories No. 22 (1771-1783), 132-136; Hatch and Greene, Developed Sites, 39. See also Appendices I-B and I-G.

33. Marcus Whiffen, The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va., 1960), 90-93; Stephenson, "History of the Nelson-Galt House," 2-8. See note 21 above.

34. See Rogers' will, Appendix I-A. The purchase price was only £15, which suggests that this lot was unimproved (had no suitable dwelling) when Rogers bought it. A modern surveyor's

chain is 66 feet long, but during the 17th and 18th centuries such chains were sometimes only two poles, or 33 feet, long.

See Silvio A. Bedini, Thinkers and Tinkers: Early American Men of Science (New York, 1975), 60-62, 317, 463-464, and also Sarah S. Hughes, Surveyors and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia (Richmond, Va., 1979), 32-35.

35. See Appendices I-A and I-C; Wendy Nicholas, "A Study of the Yorktown Craftsmen: 1700-1750: (Manuscript Report, Copy at Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va., 1974), Appendix A.

36. See Appendices I-F and I-H for their wills. Deeds No. 8 (1769-1777), Reynolds to Archer, Nelson to Reynolds, and Stevenson to Reynolds, 221-222, 302-305.

37. Riley, "Founding and Development of Yorktown," 196-199; Riley, "Suburban Development of Yorktown," VMHB, LX (1952), 522-536. See Rogers' will and estate account in Appendices I-A and I-C.

38. Virginia Gazette, May 22, 1752, June 18, 1752, and July 1, 1752; Deeds No. 5 (1741-1754), Snelson to Norton, 519-520.

39. Deeds No. 8 (1769-1777), Reynolds to Archer, 221-222.

40. [Edward] Fage. "A Plan of the Posts of York and Gloucester in the Province of Virginia, . . ." Illustration 26 in Greene, The Allies at Yorktown.

41. [Alexandre Berthier.] "Plan d'York town pour Servier a l'Establissement du d'hyner du Regiment de Soissonnois et les Grenadiers et Chasseurs de St. Onge le 12 9bre 1781."

Manuscript Map, Barthier Papers (Princeton University Library). See Thompson, The British Defenses of Yorktown, 233 and Figure 0 in this study. For extensive bibliographies of maps made of Yorktown during this period see Hatch and Greene, Developed Sites; Greene, The Allies at Yorktown; Thompson, The British Defenses of Yorktown.

42. The policies issued by the Mutual Assurance Society have been microfilmed and are available at the Virginia State Library. See also Elbert Cox, "Declarations of Assurance with the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia for Yorktown, Virginia" (Manuscript Report, CNHP, 1932).

43. See Appendices I-A and I-C.

44. Judgements and Orders No. 2 (1752-1754), 62. No explanation has been found in the York County records of why this appraisal was never recorded.

45. C. G. Chamberlayne, ed., The Vestry Book of St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County, Virginia 1706-1786 (Richmond, Va., 1940), 312. See also the discussion of Montgomery in chap. 6, below.

46. Hanover County, Court Records (1733-1735), passim; William R. Cocke, III, ed., Hanover County Taxpayers, Saint Paul's Parish, 1782-1815 (Columbia, Va., 1956), 105. William Reynolds' will can be found in Wills and Inventories No. 23 (1783-1811), 605-606, see also "Reynolds and Rogers," WMQ, 1st Ser., XII (1903), 128-129.

CHAPTER 3

WILLIAM ROGERS THE ENTREPRENEUR

During the nearly thirty years that William Rogers lived in Yorktown he was involved in a variety of business ventures. The diversity of his economic involvements was typical of that of many 18th C. entrepreneurs. Such men took advantage of all opportunities to increase the return from their investments while decreasing their risks. By 1730 successful men of this sort had enriched themselves to the point where they were the leading figures of commerce in Virginia. Although the pottery manufacturing operation was the most significant and unusual of Rogers' enterprises, the profits from his other economic activities must have contributed substantially to the impressive amount of property he owned when he died.

Brewer

The first business Rogers operated after moving to Yorktown was a brewery, which produced ale, beer, and probably cider. One of the earliest references to Rogers in the York County records in May of 1711 identifies him as "William Rogers of Yorktown Brewer." Rogers had been living in the town as early as 1710 using property belonging to John Martin. The brewery may have begun operating the same year, since in March 1711 several tavern keepers successfully petitioned the York County Court to have "Rogers best aile" added to the list of ordinary rates.¹ In eighteenth-century Virginia the local county courts regulated most aspects of the operation of taverns or ordinaries. Prospective tavern keepers had to petition the court for a license yearly and if this was granted, they had to post a bond for 10,000 pounds of tobacco or £50 as a guarantee that the tavern would be operated according to the laws of the colony. Usually two other responsible local citizens would sign the

bond along with the ordinary keeper as additional security. All three signers were then legally liable for any fines or penalties that the court might exact for failure to obey the regulations. In addition to granting and renewing tavern licenses the county court also set the maximum prices that could be charged for liquors, meals, lodging, etc., usually in March. Ordinary keepers were required by law to post this list of rates in a public room in their establishments.²

The list of rates for York County approved in March 1710 included Virginia-made beer and cider at 3 3/4 pence per quart and Virginia brandy at 2 shillings per quart, but no ale. In the March 1711 list, however, "Rogers best Virga ails" had been added at 6 pence per quart. From 1712 through 1719 the court merely ordered that the existing rates be continued, but in 1720 a full listing was again given, which included Virginia-made beer, cider, and brandy, but did not mention ale. In 1732 the court directed that ale costing 40 shillings per barrel was to be rated at 3 pence silver per quart, or if less than 40 shillings then it was not to cost more than 2 pence silver per quart. This order is not clear and may refer to imported ale only. Not until 1736 did the list of liquor rates again mention "Virginia brewed ale" at 7 1/2 pence per quart, and from 1737 until some time after Rogers died the court ordered the current liquor rates to be continued.³

Rogers' brewery was in operation before March of 1711, since the local tavern keepers were anxious to sell his apparently popular ale, a beverage that was not often produced locally and had to be imported at a higher cost. As late as 1742 Edward Kimber, who traveled through Virginia and Maryland, commented that although imported wines, locally produced brandy, and rum were available the poorer people usually had only cider to drink since few people were "malting their Corn [small grains] of any kind." Kimber believed that even their Indian corn would produce a good liquor.⁴ Since locally brewed ale was not specifically mentioned in the liquor rates again until 1736, Rogers may have temporarily stopped producing it from around 1720 to 1735, but

the evidence is not complete enough to be conclusive. There are indications, however, that his brewery continued to produce beer, cider, and perhaps brandy. The location of the brewery can only be conjectured at this time. Before May of 1711, when Rogers obtained lots 51 and 55, it may have been on either lot 39 or 42 or more likely on the waterfront area near where he later owned a warehouse. After 1711 he may have moved his brewery to lots 51 and 55 or to his Terrapin Point farm near town.

There was a ready market and a steady demand for products from the brewery both in Yorktown and in the surrounding area. While at Yorktown in 1742 Edward Kimber noted that "the Taverns are many here, and much frequented." This has been confirmed by Edward Riley, who concluded that the prevalence of inns and ordinaries was one of the most striking characteristics of the town during the years before the Revolution. From 1710 to 1740 the county court granted licenses to over forty different ordinary keepers in Yorktown alone, and during this period nearly as many ordinaries were also operating in nearby Williamsburg. Although some of these establishments remained in operation only a few years or had several different successive owners, probably about twenty ordinaries were in business at any given time in each town.⁵ Including ordinaries in James City, Gloucester, New Kent, Elizabeth City, and Warwick counties there must have been a heavy demand for beer and liquors of all kinds within a relatively small geographical area. Rogers' brewery could have been a very profitable business, especially if locally brewed beer and ale were not usually produced by liquor and beverage suppliers.

It is not surprising that in a number of instances the court records connect Rogers with ordinary keepers. For three years, from 1714 through 1716, William Rogers co-signed the bond Edward Ripping had to post for his license to operate an ordinary in Williamsburg. Although Ripping continued to operate his ordinary for many years there is no evidence of any further connection with Rogers, who did not stand as security for Ripping on any of his bonds after 1716.⁶ It is difficult to interpret such

clues, but there may have been some sort of business relationship between the two men. No evidence has been found that Rogers ever stood security for any other tavern keeper's bond. Equally unclear are the implications of four court cases when Rogers was involved in lawsuits with tavern keepers. The first occurred in August 1718 when the York County Court dismissed a suit Rogers had brought against Mary Davis, administratrix of the estate of William David deceased, after Rogers chose not to prosecute the case. No information was given about the issues of the suit and it may have been settled before the court met. Mary Davis had obtained a license to run an ordinary in Yorktown in May of that year, and it is possible that this explains Rogers' lawsuit. In February 1719 Rogers won a judgment in the York Court against Susanna Allen for a debt owed him of £3-17-10. The records do not reveal how Allen, who kept a tavern in Williamsburg from 1710 to 1719, incurred this debt but she had signed a note to secure it. Six years later in May of 1725 Rogers sued John Butterworth, a Yorktown ordinary keeper, for the considerable sum of £41-13-0 1/2 due on account. When the York Court met the following month, however, it dismissed the suit without any explanation. Again it is not known if Rogers lost the suit or if it was settled out of court. Finally, in August 1727, Mary Hunter, administratrix of the estate of Samuel Hunter deceased, sued William Rogers for £10 damages. After several continuances a jury awarded her the sum of £9-5-4. This is all the information contained in the court record, but it is known that Mary Hunter was operating an ordinary in Yorktown in January 1728. In the first three cases Rogers may have been trying to collect money owed him for brewery products (or wares from the pottery factory), and in the last suit Mary Hunter may have collected damages for poor-quality beverages or an unfulfilled contract, but without further evidence it is impossible to be sure what these lawsuits were about.⁷

There are a few other indications that Rogers continued to operate his brewery until he died. Small grains, the basic raw material for brewing beer and ale, were easily available, and

after 1730 Rogers may have grown his own grain on his farm at Terrapin Point. Hops, another essential ingredient for brewing, were occasionally grown in Virginia but were often imported. In June 1737 the ship Braxton arrived in Yorktown from Boston with a cargo of bricks, train oil, wooden ware, and hops. Her captain was Thomas Reynolds, who married William Rogers' daughter Susanna. As a sea captain Reynolds made a number of voyages in the late 1730s, but no other instance has been found of his ships importing hops.⁸

When he died in 1739 William Rogers still owned the following items that would have been used for brewing and distilling: 1 Cold still 12/6, 3 empty casks and 2 beer tubbs 7/6, 1 large Cask, 1 worm Still £2-10-0, a copper kettle £2-10-0. 240 quart bottles £2-0-0, and 3/4 lb. hops 17/ (see Appendix IB). Since hops are a relatively perishable commodity and have no other use except in brewing beer and ale, Rogers probably continued to produce alcoholic beverages until his death. There is some evidence from the lists of liquor rates that from 1720 to about 1735 the brewery's operations were curtailed, or perhaps not producing ale. In eighteenth-century New England, tavern keepers and potters often had close business ties, the former sometimes setting up potters to ensure a reliable supply of containers for beverages.⁹ William Rogers must have had many business dealings with tavern keepers, both as a wholesale supplier of beverages and as a source of stoneware containers and mugs used to store and serve the drinks sold in their establishments. Unless other, more detailed, records or account books are found, no further description can be made of Rogers' brewing operations, but they may have been similar to those of John Mercer's brewery, which he established in 1765 at his plantation Marlborough near the Potomac River. Mercer built a brewhouse and a malthouse, each 100 feet long, of brick and stone, as well as cellars, a cooper's house, and other necessary buildings. Investing heavily, he also hired two brewers, one from Scotland, and purchased forty Negro slaves to grow enough grain to keep the brewery supplied. Mercer tried to make his operation self-sufficient by having

the malt ground at Marlborough, and he even considered setting up a glasshouse to manufacture his own bottles. Despite these extensive preparations Mercer's brewery was not successful. Much of the beer and ale produced was of such poor quality it was unsaleable, and Mercer's mounting debts and desperate financial situation probably doomed what was already turning out to be an economic failure. Mercer died in 1768, and two years later the equipment connected with the brewery was sold at auction to help pay his debts.¹⁰ Rogers may have been more successful as a brewery operator than John Mercer because of previous training or experience acquired in England and because he had a greater local market for his product. Mercer's attempts to set up a self-sufficient operation by growing his own grain, grinding his own malt, and planning a container manufacturing facility may be instructive in understanding Rogers' own brewing business.

Merchant and Manufacturer

By 1725, only fifteen years after locating in Yorktown, William Rogers was involved in two more business ventures in addition to the brewery and had also achieved the status of "Merchant of York River" in the eyes of his contemporaries. The evidence that has survived is circumstantial, but Rogers was becoming involved in various mercantile activities and had likely begun operating a store in Yorktown by the year 1720. His major new undertaking, the pottery factory, was certainly already in operation also by that year (see Chapter 2). If Rogers was operating a store by 1720 it may have been a modest concern at least at first, perhaps associated with his "warehouse or storehouse" at the waterside, which was a popular location for mercantile establishments. Such a store could have served as an outlet for the wares of the pottery factory. Sometime before 1736 Rogers may also have operated a store in Williamsburg. In that year he advertised for sale or rent of a house in Williamsburg "in which the Bristol Store was lately kept."¹¹ We do not know

when he first acquired this property, but he still owned it in 1739 when he described it in his will as a dwelling. This store would have been a convenient place to sell his ceramic wares and other merchandise to the considerable market found at the colonial capital.

A number of references in the county court records taken as a whole imply that Rogers' economic and perhaps social status was on the rise by 1720. During the preceding ten years Rogers appears in the county records performing many of the ordinary duties and jobs that were expected of responsible middle-class citizens. During this period he served on two petit juries (once as the foreman), took evidence from witnesses, and along with other successful craftsmen and ordinary keepers helped inventory three estates. In 1716 the justices of the county court directed Rogers, Thomas Nelson, and Richard Cary to audit and settle certain accounts relating to a lawsuit brought by William Cock against Thomas Roberts.¹² Since the court often selected estate appraisers from economic or occupational backgrounds similar to those of the deceased, Rogers' association with craftsmen and tavern keepers may be indicative of his status at this time. The last assignment, however, shows that Rogers had a more than ordinary familiarity with commercial and mercantile transactions. It may also be significant that he was chosen along with Thomas Nelson, a prosperous merchant who was rapidly becoming one of the town's most prominent residents. After 1720 William Rogers no longer participated in as many of these routine jobs. The court usually appointed four men to inventory, appraise, or draw up settlement accounts for estates, but only three were required to carry out the assignment. Rogers helped appraise Mary Reade's estate in 1723, but the three subsequent times he was assigned such jobs (in 1727, 1730, and 1736) he no longer joined in performing them.¹³

William Rogers also appears in the county court records as a party in five lawsuits before the year 1720. Among these were two of the suits against tavern keepers mentioned earlier. He was the defendant in 1714 when Mary Cary sued him for breaking

a covenant, while in 1716 Rogers sued John Scott for £20 damages for trespass and again in 1718 he brought a suit against Robert Minge for trespass, claiming damages of £35. All three cases were dismissed and we do not know the issues at stake. They may not have involved the collection of debts although the trespass cases may have concerned commercial transactions of some sort. After 1720 Rogers was the plaintiff in a number of lawsuits that were probably brought to collect debts, several for substantial amounts (see Appendix IV). Retail stores in colonial Virginia made many, if not most, of their sales on credit and store managers had to judge the credit worthiness of their customers. Like other merchants Rogers must have extended credit and undoubtedly occasionally had to resort to court action to collect bad debts. At least one of these cases, and perhaps two, relate to the pottery factory, and the others may concern his brewery business or his store. In about half of these cases Rogers succeeded in collecting the money owed him.¹⁴

In contrast to his first ten years residence in Yorktown there are indications that William Rogers began to greatly augment his labor force from 1720 to 1725. During this five-year period he invested in at least ten additional workers, including seven Negro slaves and three indentured white servants (see Appendix II). His varied economic interests were evidently already profitable enough to allow him to commit a substantial amount of capital to the acquisition of additional laborers. Since slave ownership was a key indicator of a person's economic and social status, Rogers' accelerated purchasing of Negroes at this time demonstrates that he was well on the way to prosperity and an important position in the town's mercantile community.

The most specific information we have on William Rogers' mercantile activities at this time comes from several documents recorded in the York County Court records that cast some light on one aspect of his business affairs. The first of these is a power of attorney dated November 1724 from John Marriott, a stationer of London, to Thomas Nelson and Philip Lightfoot. Marriott declared that "sundry differences had arisen and been

had by and between" himself and "William Rogers of York River in Virginia Merchant." In order to settle and resolve their differences both men had agreed to accept and stand by the decision of a group of four arbitrators and each party had signed reciprocal bonds in November of 1723 to ensure that they would do so. The four arbitrators, all prominent local Virginia merchants (Thomas Nelson, Philip Lightfoot, Thomas Jones, and John Martin), had reached a decision in May of 1724, and in this document Marriott constituted Nelson and Lightfoot and his attorneys to act for him in his absence. The arbitrators' decision or award was not recorded until June 1725 over a year after it was drawn up. The award stated that by May 9, 1725, Rogers was to pay Marriott or his attorneys the sum of £400 sterling in bills of exchange. Marriott in return was to send to his attorneys a "general release of all Debts, Dues, Demands, Accots, and Reckonings" between him and Rogers, including a statement releasing Rogers from "all accots and demands of Shopkeepers or tradesmen from whom any part of the Cargoes in partnership between the said parties were purchased and shall be ready to be delivered to the said William Rogers." Rogers had no difficulty paying the required amount, and in July 1725 both Marriott's release as specified in the arbitrators' award and a receipt from Nelson and Lightfoot to Rogers for the £400 sterling were duly entered in the York County Court records.¹⁵

Since Rogers and Marriott decided to dissolve their partnership in 1723 their business association probably began some years earlier, although we do not know exactly when. In the 18th C the term "stationer" referred primarily to book-sellers or to shopkeepers in general. The terms of Marriott's release to Rogers suggest that their partnership was typical of many such business relationships between English tradesmen and colonial merchants. Partnership arrangements between the emerging local merchant group in Virginia and English wholesale suppliers existed in many forms. Such associations might exist over a long period of time or be limited to the speculative sale of any cargo of goods. The chief advantages of a partnership came

from the savings gained by buying in quantity, an increased efficiency of distribution, and the sharing of investment costs and risk. Virginia merchants at this time seldom specialized, but usually sold general merchandise and most engaged in more than one type of commerce. The term "merchant" itself came to mean something different in Virginia. In England merchants were men of importance who were extensive wholesale dealers trading with foreign countries and in international markets. Those producing goods were referred to as craftsmen or manufacturers, while those who sold these products wholesale or retail on the domestic market were called tradesmen or shopkeepers. Such distinctions soon became blurred in the colonies. Since Virginians who engaged in commerce were usually involved in the international transatlantic trade, they were considered to be merchants. Virginia's merchants performed essential tasks, acting as middlemen in the process of moving goods and commodities between producers and consumers.¹⁶

Marriott probably selected and assembled cargoes of manufactured goods from various London shopkeepers and tradesmen at wholesale prices, which he had shipped to Rogers who in turn either sold them wholesale or at a retail markup in one or more stores that he ran in Yorktown or Williamsburg. Any profits realized were then shared according to some previously agreed to arrangement, perhaps half to each partner. We do not know who supplied the initial capital to buy the goods in England; perhaps both men did or they may have been purchased on credit from the English shopkeepers or manufacturers. The latter case seems the most likely since Rogers was discharged from all such accounts or demands. Since none of the accounts from Rogers' and Marriott's partnership was entered in the court records we do not know whether the money sent to Marriott represents his share of profits or whether it also includes the cost of goods purchased in England. Nor can we know for certain exactly what sorts of goods he was sending Rogers. From the considerable amount of the settlement it does seem evident that Rogers was conducting a successful mercantile business of sizable volume.

Rogers' ability to send off £400 sterling in bills of exchange reveals that he had accumulated substantial assets which were not evident from his modest property holdings at the time.

One study of merchants in colonial Virginia concludes that a typical average-sized store in the colony during the eighteenth century had an annual turnover of goods worth from £600 to £1000. Measured by this standard Rogers and Marriott were engaging in business on a moderate but impressive scale.¹⁷ Marriott's release cleared Rogers of any further obligation to pay for cargoes or merchandise that had been shipped from England. This meant that Rogers could dispose of those goods that remained in his hands as he wishes, without accounting to his former partner. Although it is safe to surmise that Marriott had been sending a variety of British goods to Rogers in Yorktown, he seems also to have furnished Rogers with a quantity of books, perhaps from his own stationer's shop in London.

An entry in John Mercer's ledger dated 1725 reveals that Rogers was selling earthenware wholesale, but also indicates that he was selling considerable numbers of books (Figure 15). The full account shows that in return for £36-12-2 in cash and two and a half bushels of wheat, Rogers sold Mercer ninety-seven folio books and eleven dozen pamphlets worth over £24, in addition to a quantity of earthenware worth £12-3-6. At this time John Mercer was trading around the colony in his sloop, visiting ports like Yorktown and buying imported goods that he later exchanged for country produce at more distant plantations.¹⁸ Mercer's purchase was probably made at Rogers' Yorktown store, and although this is one of the few surviving accounts that give direct evidence of Rogers' mercantile actions, there must have been many similar transactions with other traders of which we now have no record. The large number of books sold, worth twice as much as the earthenware, clearly demonstrates that Rogers was engaged in selling a variety of goods in addition to the products of his kilns. The unusually large number of pictures and maps, over ninety altogether, listed among his personal property at his death may be a reflection both of his artistic tastes and of his former business association with a stationer.

1725 *M^o Wm Rogers* *Dr*
 To 2 1/2 bushels Wheat @ 3/9 . . . £ 9.4 1/2
 To Cash . . . £ 36 12.2

1726 *M^o John Belt* *Dr*
 July 25 Comy obligation for 4000 lbs of back 21 A
 2460 is 4260 at 10/ pint . . . 6
 To 18 merwe/hoes . . . £ 21 10..

Contra *Cr*
 By Earthen Ware amounting to by J^e Invoice . . . £ 12 3.6
 By 13 Books in folio at 4/ Sholing . . . 2 12
 By 15 pint on £ 2.12. - to make 1000 . . . 7.9
 By 70 Books in folio at 4/ Sholing . . . 14
 By 14 dozen small 2° D^o 5/ 20 p^oea . . . 3 10
 By 11 1/2 doz: Pamphlets @ 2/ 5 p^oea . . . 1 3
 By 15 pint on £ 18.13. - to make 1000 . . . 2 15 11
 £ 36 12.2

Contra *Cr*
 By a store . . . £ 21 10..

Figure 15. Account Book Entry of William Rogers Selling Ceramic Wares in 1725. From the John Mercer Ledger, 1725-1732, f.27, Virginia State Library.

By the 1720s Yorktown was rapidly becoming an important center of commerce. Because the town had an excellent harbor and a convenient location it was developing into a wholesale distribution center for the entire York River area, a depot for the West Indies trade, and an important slave market. As such it was dominated by merchants, and the fortunes of the town's elite were based on commerce. Many merchants of varying degrees of importance lived in Yorktown, and the attribution of the term to William Rogers in 1725 does not in itself prove that he had necessarily attained a high social status. It may be significant that during the last year of his life, when Rogers drew up his will, he preferred to identify himself as a merchant instead of as a brewer or a potter. Certainly Rogers never reached the social or economic level of the town's elite, such as the gentry merchants Thomas Nelson and Philip Lightfoot. It is likely, though, that by 1725 Rogers was well on the way to achieving the solid upper-class position he had reached when he died.¹⁹

William Rogers continued to maintain business associations with English tradesmen well into the 1730s. In February 1733 two shopkeepers in London constituted "William Rogers of Yorktown, Merchant" their legal attorney and authorized him to sue Matthew Kemp, a Williamsburg merchant, for debts due to the estate of William Keeling, a merchant-mariner of Surrey, England. Rogers did not present this power of attorney to be recorded until September of 1735, and if he brought any lawsuits against Kemp by authority of this document they must have been in the General Court of James City County, since none appears in the York County records.²⁰ Business relationships such as this indicate that Rogers was continuing to deal with British shopkeepers after 1725, possibly in the course of operating a store. A number of items listed in his inventory indicate that Rogers continued to engage in mercantile activities until shortly before he died. The 14 bottles of "Stoughton's" elixir, coconuts, yarn caps, cutlery, and relatively large quantities of cloth, ginger, allspice, rice, and snakeroot were typical stock in many of the colony's retail stores (see Appendix IB).

Shipowner

Yet another, important phase of Rogers' varied business ventures had begun by 1730 and perhaps even earlier. By that year Rogers was the owner of a sloop and therefore joined a number of merchant-shipowners who participated in the diverse kinds of trade that were being carried on at Yorktown at this time. By 1739 when he died Rogers had owned at least four sailing vessels, including a ship capable of transatlantic voyages. In addition to confirming that Rogers was prospering financially, his investment in these vessels is indicative of the diversity and range of his economic interests and of the extent of his participation in the trade and commerce of the Yorktown area.

A number of studies have examined the nature and extent of trade in colonial Virginia and in the York River area, which taken together provide an overview of Yorktown's commerce and shipping from 1730 to about the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of the surviving information comes from reports of shipping that were kept by royal officials operating under parliamentary laws enacted to regulate trade within the British Empire. By the beginning of the eighteenth century an administrative system had been set up to enforce these laws, known as the Navigation Acts, in all of the British colonies. Virginia was divided into six naval districts, based approximately on the river system, each of which was under the jurisdiction of a Naval Officer and several other appointed officials. These officials collected the appropriate customs duties and recorded information on the vessels that entered or left their district. Detailed reports from each district on the vessels and cargoes entering and leaving were periodically prepared and sent to the Board of Trade in England. Most, but not all, vessels entering the district had to show proof of registration and were recorded on these lists, but undecked or small vessels trading from one plantation to another may not have been recorded or registered.²¹

The York River comprised one of Virginia's six naval districts, and although not all the cargo recorded for the district was loaded

or landed at Yorktown, a large proportion of it probably did pass through the port since it was the only significant one on the river and was also the location of the customs and naval offices. Charles Hatch has studied the vessels and cargoes entering and leaving Yorktown and the York River district over a period of sixteen months, including the entire year of 1737. At this time the most predominant trade was with England, especially the ports of London and Bristol. Tobacco, wood and timber products, iron, and animal skins (mostly deer and beaver) were usually shipped out, and returning cargoes most often consisted of "Sundry European goods," wines, and other liquors. Next in importance was trade with the British colonies in the West Indies, especially the islands of Barbados and Bermuda. Yorktown's chief exports to these places were grain (mostly corn), timber, shingles, staves, and foodstuffs (bread, flour, beef, pork, and butter). In return these colonies furnished the York River area with rum, molasses, sugar, salt, and occasionally items such as straw ware. The least important in volume was the coastwise trade with other British continental colonies, which centered mainly on Maryland, New England, and Philadelphia. Corn, peas, some wheat, and plank from the York River were exchanged for train oil, hops, flour, salted fish, manufactured items (furniture, wooden and earthenware, axes), and some transhipped wine, rum, and molasses. Hatch also notes that Yorktown was an important entry port for a large number of Negro slaves, some from the West Indies but mostly from Africa.²²

Malcolm Clark's analysis of the coastwise and Caribbean trade of the Chesapeake Bay from 1696 to 1776 helps to place Yorktown's trade and shipping within the context of the commerce of the Chesapeake area during the 1730s. Clark found that New England shippers dominated the coastwise trade for many years, exchanging household and husbandry goods, miscellaneous foodstuffs, and transhipped sugar products from the West Indies for grains, flour, furs, naval stores, and pork. More important was the direct trade with the West Indies, most of which passed through Port Hampton in the lower James River Naval District. In exchange

or the usual sugar, rum, and molasses as well as salt and some Negro slaves, the Chesapeake region supplied these islands with livestock, pork, flour, corn, bread, and wood products (lumber, staves, and shingles). During the 1730s the Caribbean trade accounted for about 15 percent of the tonnage entering and leaving Virginia ports.²³

During the years from 1732 to 1737 a greater share of Virginia's trade with Great Britain and Europe passed through the York River than any of the other five naval districts. The York River District ranked first in the amount of shipping entering from and clearing to Europe and the British Isles, counting both tonnage and the number of vessels. Yorktown's share of the colony's trade with the Caribbean and the British West Indies at this time was second only to that of Port Hampton. Least significant was the town's participation in the coastwise trade at this time. Out of the six districts, the York River ranked fourth in tonnage clearing for and last in tonnage entering from other British continental colonies.²⁴

The most thorough study of shipping in the York River Naval District concerns the years 1740-1744, and although this is after William Rogers died, it is useful for gaining a more detailed understanding of the nature and extent of trade in Yorktown during this general period. In these five years an average of about 56 vessels were trading in the York River each year, with the largest number, 68, entering the district in 1742. The greatest proportion of these (over 50 percent) were ships averaging around 150 tons in size, while sloops of about 28 tons were the next most common type, accounting for about 20 percent of all vessels. Schooners of 32 to 40 tons, snows of around 75 tons, and brigs of a little over 60 tons in size made up the remaining types of vessels entering the district. More of these vessels, over 36 percent, had been built in New England than in any other place, although another 28 percent had been built in the British Isles. Only about 16 percent of these vessels were Virginia built.²⁵

More vessels calling at Yorktown during each of these years were from England, especially London and Bristol, than from any other part of the world. During one year, trade with England and Europe accounted for 62 percent of all vessels entering the district. The next largest group of vessels was involved in trade with the West Indies and the wine islands, while the smallest number was engaged in the coastwise and African slave trades. This was also true for those vessels leaving Yorktown, except that the outward-bound commerce was even more heavily dominated by vessels clearing for England and Europe. The chief imports coming into Yorktown at this time were wine, usually from Madeira, rum, sugar, and molasses from the West Indies or New England, salt from several places, European goods, household supplies, and clothing from England, some housewares and foodstuffs from New England, and large numbers of Negro slaves from Africa. The most important products leaving the district were tobacco, staves, shingles and other lumber items, naval stores, a great deal of grain (mostly corn), livestock, beef, pork, and some animal skins.²⁶

Clearly Yorktown was an important center of trade and shipping in the period from 1720 to 1740 and offered enterprising merchants many opportunities to do a profitable business. One way a merchant could control some of the uncertainties of the market and maximize his sales was to acquire his own means of transport. William Rogers had begun acquiring vessels by 1730, but the surviving evidence often raises as many questions as it answers. On August 8, 1730, the 19-ton sloop William and John left Yorktown for Maryland with a cargo of earthenware, rice, turpentine, and pork. Her master was John Kelshall and she was owned by William Rogers. The William and John was built in Virginia in 1718 and was registered in the colony the following year. She was a small craft for her type. Sloops were single masted, fore and aft rigged vessels that usually averaged 20 to 40 tons when used in coastal trading and 50 tons or more when used for the West Indies trade. The William and John returned from Maryland early in October of 1730 with only ballast as

cargo and does not appear in the records for the York River District again.²⁷

This rather brief appearance of Rogers' first known vessel raises several questions. Since the William and John was built in 1718, the August clearing was not her maiden voyage, but in that case why is there no record of her entering before then or leaving port again after her return in October? Although the Naval Officer's reports for the York River District have survived largely intact beginning in 1725, some lists are missing. If the William and John entered or left the district at these times the evidence may have been lost. It is also possible that if this vessel was engaged mostly in coastal trade within the colony and was not carrying enumerated commodities as defined by the Navigation Acts, it might not have been entered in the reports returned to the Board of Trade. One other possibility is that Rogers purchased the vessel in Yorktown and then sold it there after it returned from Maryland. If this is what happened the vessel would have cleared Yorktown under a new name and owner's registration. William Rogers may have owned the William and John for some years prior to 1730, since the most recent registration was in 1719. Vessels were required to be re-registered if the owner's name changed, but apparently this rule was not always enforced strictly.²⁸ William Rogers may have used the sloop for miscellaneous trading in and around the rivers of the colony, as John Mercer had been doing in the 1720s. Since a sloop must have had obvious uses, it is curious that Rogers did not keep it longer than he did. He may have found it to his advantage to sell it soon after 1730.²⁹

Two years later William Rogers again appears as the owner of a trading vessel, this time the 150-ton ship Susanna, probably named for his oldest daughter. The Susanna entered Yorktown in ballast from London on May 3, 1732, with Edward Hubbard as her master. On September 9, 1732, she left Yorktown bound for London with a cargo of 296 hogsheads of tobacco, staves, and beaver skins. The Susanna was built in Whitby in Great Britain in 1721 and was in London in February of 1732.³⁰ After leaving

Yorktown in the fall of 1732 she also disappears from the records and no other references to her have been found in the York River District Naval Officer's lists. Since these lists are nearly complete from 1732 to 1740 and a ship of this size would certainly have been entered, only two explanations for the disappearance of the Susanna seem likely. Rogers must have purchased the ship in England early in 1732 when it was re-registered, and then had it sold again when it returned to London in late 1732 or early 1733. It is also possible that the Susanna was lost at sea either before reaching England or on the voyage back across the Atlantic. A careful search of all the surviving reports from the Naval Officer for the York River District has failed to turn up any other references to these two vessels or to any others owned by William Rogers that were trading in the district during the period 1724 to 1740. If he sold either the William and John or the Susanna, both may have continued to trade in the York River under different names and listed under new owners.

In addition to the sloop William and John and the ship Susanna we know that William Rogers owned at least two other vessels that could have been used for trading. In 1739 he placed the following advertisement in the Virginia Gazette: "To be Sold a Pennyworth, A Small Shallop, belonging to the Subscriber, in Yorkt Town: She is about Five Years old and will carry between Four and Five Hundred Bushels of Corn." Shallops were heavily constructed, undecked craft that had but one mast. They were usually about 30 feet long and were the smallest colonial-built craft capable of coastal navigation. Shallops had been the common utilitarian work boats along the coasts in the seventeenth century, but declined in importance after 1700.³¹ The use of the term "pennyworth" indicates that Rogers was willing to sell the shallop at a bargain price. Although this craft had been built about 1734 we do not know if Rogers had owned it since that year. He may have employed the craft to carry brewery products, ceramic wares, wheat or corn, and general merchandise to various markets in the Chesapeake Bay or even further. Since the boat

was probably undecked, it may have entered and left the port frequently and not have been recorded in the Naval Officer's list.

During the last year of his life William Rogers either bought or had built another sloop. A newspaper advertisement of January 1740 announced that most of Rogers' personal property was to be sold at an auction, including "a new Sloop, built last March, with all new Rigging, and very well fitted, with 2 very good Boats." When his personal estate was inventoried in December 1730 this vessel and some other related items were listed as follows: "a pcel old Sails & riging £3-0-0, 1 old Boat, a New Sloop, boat, Sails, Riging, 2 Anchors, 2 Cables, 1 old Hawser and 1 Grapnell £90-0-0."³² The shipping lists for 1739 and after contain no evidence that this sloop, while owned by Rogers, ever made any voyages out of Yorktown.

These brief glimpses of Rogers as a shipowner are very difficult to interpret, primarily because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence. Since it appears that he owned these vessels for only short periods of time, he may have acquired them as a speculative investment, planning to sell them at a profit. It is also possible that he owned these or other craft for longer than the record indicates. Rogers was obviously able to obtain means of water transport easily on his own terms at any time after 1730. Conclusions could also be made about the extent of Rogers' mercantile activities from the evidence of the vessels he owned. There were six main branches of mercantile transactions in the Chesapeake area at this time: the tobacco trade, the Caribbean trade, the coastwise trade, the store trade, the slave trade, and the Indian trade. In addition to engaging in the coastwise and store trades, Rogers may have been involved in the Caribbean and seems to have attempted to engage in the tobacco trade with the purchase of the Susanna.³³

Planter

Very little is known about how Rogers used his 25-acre Terrapin Point farm or the other land he may have rented or owned

elsewhere, but it seems certain that he was engaged in agricultural production. Tobacco was the principal commercial crop grown in the York River basin before 1740. Almost 65 percent of York County's work force was at least partly involved in tobacco cultivation in the 1720s. It has recently been suggested, however, that tobacco did not dominate the local economy as completely as once believed and that some capital was being invested in diversified farming. The value of non-tobacco alternative products, such as grains and other foodstuffs, being exported from the York River area during this period was significant, especially when the price of tobacco was low.³⁴ Rogers agricultural operations may have been representative of the sort of diversified farming that was becoming more common, since there is evidence he was growing corn and wheat and raising livestock. It has been suggested above that Rogers acquired this farmland to grow grain for his brewery, otherwise he presumably had to purchase the raw materials he needed to keep the brewery supplied, either from nearby planters or else from trading vessels coming into Yorktown. The shallop that he advertised for sale in 1739 was described as capable of carrying about 500 bushels of corn. It would have been very practical for Rogers to have purchased wheat or corn in and around Virginia's rivers while making short trips in his sloop or shallop to sell ceramic wares, beverages, or general merchandise. Surplus crops could have been disposed of in the same way.

Most of the evidence of Rogers' farming activities is found in the inventory of his estate taken after his death. The 27 head of cattle, 12 sheep, and 6 oxen he owned in 1739 were probably kept at Terrapin Point, but his 4 horses may have been stabled in Yorktown. Other items are listed that also concern farming, including 5 broad hoes, 22 sickles, two pair of sheep shears, an ox cart with yokes and chains, and several wire sieves. Considering the presence of the sickles it is not surprising that there were also on hand 212 bushels of wheat appraised at £15-18-0, probably the "Parcel of Wheat" that was sold at auction along with the cattle and other things in January of 1740. The corn

crop at Terrapin Point may have still stood in the field when the inventory was taken since it was not mentioned. In January of 1750, however, Rogers' widow sold 92 barrels of corn, 40 bushels of which were "old" and the rest "new ," for £21-0-0.³⁵ It may be inferred that wheat and corn were the principal crops Rogers grew on his land, and these commodities would have been needed at his brewery.

Nothing is known of what buildings or improvements existed at Terrapin Point while it was owned by Rogers. Certainly some of his 36 Negro slaves must have been quartered there and this would have necessitated a dwelling of some sort in addition to outbuildings used to store crops or shelter animals. By 1781 when the land belonged to the Nelson family a quarter was located in the area. Maps of the vicinity show that the quarter was reasonably developed and consisted of at least two main buildings enclosed by fences or hedges. It is not known whether the Nelsons built these structures or whether they survived from the 1740s.³⁶ The presence of cattle and sheep in Rogers' estate inventory suggests that he was also using the farm to provide meat, dairy products, vegetables, and wool for clothing for his household. Rogers may have been trying to become as self-sufficient in necessities as possible. Since his household, including servants and slaves, may have been as large as forty-five persons by 1739 any success in supplying them with food and clothing would have resulted in substantial savings. Perhaps Rogers was even attempting to become more independent of British manufactured goods. Archaeological investigation of the Terrapin Point site might provide more concrete information about how Rogers used this farm.

Building Contractor

One other aspect of Rogers' diverse business affairs does not appear until late in his life. In June of 1737 the York County Court appointed a committee to agree with "some sufficient workman to build a prison for the use of this county" and to give public notice of their assignment. When the county levy or

annual tax assessment was made that fall £160 was set aside to pay for the building of the prison. By August 1738 the structure was completed and the court authorized John Buckner and William Nelson, Jr., to "view the new prison, and upon finding it built according to agreement . . . pay William Rogers the undertaker thereof the sum agreed for."³⁷ This was the second county jail to be built in Yorktown, and it was located behind the courthouse on lot 24. It was of wood-frame construction and must have been built well for it served the county for over 120 years until it was destroyed during the Civil War.³⁸

This is the only instance found so far of Rogers acting as an "undertaker" or building contractor, and we do not know if he had completed other construction jobs in Yorktown before building the county prison. In 1739 one of his indentured servants was identified as a carpenter and was employed in building the new dwelling near lot 75, which Rogers had apparently planned to move into. It is likely that Rogers had other servants or Negro slaves trained in carpentry or bricklaying who could have completed rough-construction jobs of this type. Included in Rogers' estate inventory were carpenter's and turner's tools worth about £4, which may indicate that he occasionally undertook building jobs either on his own property or for others.³⁹

During the years from 1720 to 1740 Yorktown was one of Virginia's busiest centers of commerce. The atmosphere of the town must have been predominantly that of bargain and sale, profit and loss. The Englishman Edward Kimber arrived in Yorktown in 1742 after visiting the Eastern Shore of Virginia. He found that Yorktown lacked the hospitatility he had encountered earlier, commenting that "Schemes of Gain, or Parties of Gaming and Pleasure, muddy too much their Souls, and banish from amongst them the glorious Propensity to doing good."⁴⁰ We do not know if Rogers was preoccupied with "Schemes of Gain," although the wide range of his business concerns attests to his enterprising nature. It is unfortunate that we do not know more about these aspects of Rogers' career, and there may be facets of his business world of which we know nothing at all.

FOOTNOTES

1. Deeds and Bonds No. 2 (1701-1713), Trustees to Rogers, 365; Orders and Wills No. 14 (1709-1716), 71-72.
2. Patricia A. Gibbs, "Taverns in Tidewater Virginia, 1700-1774" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1968), 15-22.
3. Orders and Wills No. 14 (1709-1716), 6-7, 71-72, 142, 238, 321, 406, 495; Orders and Wills No. 15 (1716-1720), 98, 222, 394, 571; Orders and Wills No. 16 (1720-1729), 37, 117, 198, 263, 325, 376, 429, 507, 585; Orders and Wills No. 17 (1729-1732), 52, 158, 266; Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 18 (1732-1740), 33, 105, 183, 275-276, 353, 408, 479, 572, 696; Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 19 (1740-1746), 88, 174, 270, 360, 418.
4. [Kimber], "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America," WMQ, 1st Ser., XV (1907), 145-146; Mary Goodwin, "Material on Brewing Beers Etc. from Virginia Sources" (Manuscript Report, CW, 1961).
5. [Kimber], "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America," WMQ, 1st Ser., XV (1907), 22, Edward M. Riley, "The Ordinaries of Yorktown" WMQ, 2d Ser., XXIII (1943), 8-26; Gibbs, "Taverns in Tidewater Virginia," 145-206; Bergstrom and Kelly, "The Beginnings of Yorktown," 11-14.
6. Orders and Wills No. 14 (1709-1716), 354, 364, 444, 451-452 (Rigging's license was suspended for 6 months in 1715 for selling "too much liquor to Wm. Cock's servant," ibid., 397-398);

Orders and Wills No. 15 (1716-1720), 30, 34. For examples of Rogers' no longer co-signing Ripping's bonds, see ibid., 325, 488.

7. See Appendix IV for details concerning these lawsuits, and also Riley, "Ordinaries of Yorktown," WMQ, 2d Ser., XXIII (1943), 24-26, and Gibbs, "Taverns in Tidewater Virginia," 145-206. William Davis' inventory listed a variety of earthenware and stoneware and Samuel Hunter owned a parcel of stoneware worth 14 shillings' see Orders and Wills No. 15 (1716-1720), 237-238, and Orders and Wills No. 16 (1720-1729), 488. Allen's and Butterworth's inventories provide no clues concerning why Rogers had sued them. See James H. Soltow, The Economic Role of Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va., 1965), 140-143, for a discussion of debt collection in 18th-century Virginia.

8. Virginia Gazette, June 17, 1737; Naval Officer's list of ships entering York River District from March 25 to September 29, 1737, C.O. 5/1444/7, P.R.O. Reynolds' voyages and cargoes from 1737 to 1744 can be traced in the Naval Officer's lists for York River District, C.O. 5/1444/7-28, P.R.O., and in June M. Costin, "Shipping in Yorktown, Virginia, 1740-1744" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1973), Appendixes B, C, and E. William Rogers had 212 bushels of wheat on hand when he died in 1739; see Appendix I-B of this study.

9. Lura W. Watkins, Early New England Potters and their Wares (Cambridge, Mass., 1950); Watkins and Hume, "Poor Potter" of Yorktown, 91.

10. C. Malcolm Watkins, The Cultural History of Marlborough, Virginia, United States National Museum Bulletin No. 253 (Washington, D.C., 1968), 55-62. During archaeological excavations at Marlborough in 1956-1957 the remains of two structures were uncovered near the waterfront that are believed to be part of Mercer's brewery. The first was a brick foundation approximately 15 by 40 feet and the second was a 100 foot long section of stone foundation thought to be the brewhouse or malthouse (ibid., 111-114, 178).

11. Virginia Gazette, September 10, 1736. The concentration of stores and warehouses on the river bank at Yorktown is discussed in Hatch, Yorktown's Waterfront, 13-18, 117-122.

12. Orders and Wills No. 14 (1709-1716), 116, 120, 124, 132-135, 136-137, 404; Orders and Wills No. 15 (1716-1720), 14, 43, 86-89, 126. See also Riley, "Ordinaries of Yorktown," WMQ, 2d Ser., XXIII (1943), 24-26, and Nicholas, "A Study of the Yorktown Craftsmen," Appendix A, for lists of tavern keepers and craftsmen who lived in Yorktown.

13. Orders and Wills No. 16 (1720-1729), 164- 207-210, 495, 507; Orders and Wills No. 17 (1729-1732), 49, 103-104; Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 18 (1732-1740), 282, 198-299.

14. See Soltow, Economic Role of Williamsburg, 129-147, for a description of the importance of credit in retail and wholesale commerce and also of how merchants used the county court system to collect debts.

15. Orders and Wills No. 16 (1720-1729), 339-340, 343, 345, 347, 350-351.

16. For studies of merchants in colonial Virginia and of the development of the retail store system, see Calvin B. Coulter, "The Virginia Merchant" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1944), 27-73; Robert P. Thompson, "The Merchant in Virginia, 1700-1775" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1955), 2-26; and Harold B. Gill, Jr., "Storekeeping in Colonial Virginia, Part I" (Manuscript Report, CW, 1982).

17. Coulter, "The Virginia Merchant," 27-62.

18. Watkins and Hume, "Poor Potter" of Yorktown, 79-80; Watkins, Cultural History of Marlborough, 15-16; John Mercer Ledger, 1725-1732 (photostat copy, Virginia State Library), 27.

19. Evans, "The Rise and Decline of the Virginia Aristocracy in the Eighteenth Century" in Rutman, ed., The Old Dominion, 62-78; Barbara A. Sorrill, "The Lightfoot Family in Yorktown," VMHB, LXXV (1967), 280-289; Coulter, "The Virginia Merchant," 27-62. Roger's economic status in 1739 might best be characterized as one level below the county's wealthiest elite.

20. Deeds No. 4 (1729-1740), 388-390; Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 18 (1732-1740), 226.

21. Costin, "Shipping in Yorktown," 1-6, 21, 32; Malcolm C. Clark, "The Coastwise and Caribbean Trade of the Chesapeake Bay, 1696-1776" (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1970), 165-174.

22. Hatch, Yorktown's Waterfront, 143-146

23. Clark, "Coastwise and Caribbean Trade of the Chesapeake Bay," 37-58., 85-111.

24. Ibid., 241, 250, 259, 269-273.

25. Costin, "Shipping in Yorktown," 17-30, 35-40, 49.
26. Ibid., 48-84.
27. Naval Officer's Shipping lists for York River District, C.O. 5/1443/51, 68, P.R.O.; J. A. Goldenberg, Shipbuilding in Colonial Virginia (Charlottesville, Va., 1976), 77-81.
28. Costin, "Shipping in Yorktown," 21, 32-33.
29. Watkins, Cultural History of Marlborough, 15-16.
30. Naval Officer's Shipping lists for York River District, C.O. 5/1443/80, 102, P.R.O.
31. Virginia Gazette, May 4, 1739; Goldenberg, Shipbuilding in Colonial Virginia, 5.
32. Virginia Gazette, January 4, 1740. See the inventory in Appendix I-B.
33. Clark, "Coastwise and Caribbean Trade of the Chesapeake Bay," 28-30.
34. List of tithables, C.O. 5/1319/220, P.R.O.; Bergstrom, "Markets and Merchants," 2-15, 113-115, 140.
35. Virginia Gazetts, January 4, 1740. See the inventory and estate account in Appendices I-B and I-C.
36. Hatch and Greene, Developed Sites, 39.
37. Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 18 (1732-1740), 377, 394-395, 441.
38. Hatch, Colonial Yorktown's Main Street, 42-43; Edward M. Riley, "The Colonial Courthouses of York County, Virginia," WMQ, 2d Ser., XXII (1942), 399-414; Conrad B. Bentzen and Edward M. Riley, "Lot 24, Yorktown, Virginia, Historical Data and Report of Archaeological Excavations in 1941" (Manuscript Report, CNHP, 1944), 14-16.

39. See Appendices I-A and I-B.

40. [Kimber], "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America," WMQ, 1st Ser., XV (1907), 222-223.

CHAPTER 4

ENGLISH MERCANTILISM AND COLONIAL MANUFACTURES

Historians and others who have attempted to trace the development of manufactures in the American colonies have frequently discovered that very little reliable, detailed information about these operations can be found in the surviving records. Malcolm Watkins, for example, has pointed out that "the history of pottery making in colonial America is fragmentary and inconclusive" and has suggested that the scarcity of documentary information about pottery manufacture has resulted from the colonists' reluctance to furnish officials of the royal government with accurate information about their manufacturing endeavors.¹ In the introduction to this study of British regulation of the iron industry in the American colonies, Arthur Bining observed that because of English antagonism toward the development of manufactures in the colonies "little news of the manufacturing activities of the colonists reached the mother country, and even royal governors had good reasons for not keeping the Board of Trade informed about industrial development."² This unwillingness on the part of the colonists, especially after 1700, to report openly and honestly on the state of manufactures in British America reflected a growing disagreement between the mother country and her colonies. This struggle centered around the question of what role the colonies were expected to play in the developing British empire, a role dictated by the prevailing economic theory of the time known as mercantilism. In order to understand this conflict it is necessary to briefly examine the mercantilist system, how it affected the colonial economy, and how it shaped British policy toward the colonists' efforts to establish manufactures.

The Mercantile System

Although the roots of mercantilist thought reached back for centuries into the Middle Ages, the basic system of English mercantilist legislation was not set up until the third quarter of the seventeenth century. From 1651 to 1673, in response to inroads made by Dutch merchants during the English Civil War, Parliament acted to reestablish and then to expand its control of English colonial trade by passing a series of laws known as the Navigation Acts. These laws served as the basis of English policy toward foreign trade from their passage until the end of the eighteenth century. Although such attempts by western European nations to regulate trade and thereby influence the economy have collectively been called the mercantile system, it should be noted that this conclusion is largely based on hindsight. At the time there was no elaborately thought out theoretical framework, only an ad hoc patchwork of laws and regulations enacted for fiscal and protectionist reasons. A recent study has concluded that rather than a formal, consistent body of theory and law, mercantilism was essentially a strategy, a shared perception that foreign or colonial trade and the interests of governments were closely interconnected.³

Simply put, this strategy called for government intervention to protect and promote national trade and commerce as well as the interests of resident merchants. An underlying assumption was that there was only a finite amount of wealth, and that therefore national economic strength consisted of enriching one's own country at the expense of others. The goal was to maximize the supply of wealth and revenue by creating a favorable balance of trade; in other words, to increase trade and exports while reducing imports from other nations. In theory a government that controlled the balance of trade could create an inflow or surplus of wealth and bullion, thereby ensuring military and economic strength.

The English considered the commerce of their empire to be an integrated whole, centered on the hub of the mother country, and colonies had an important function to perform within this

scheme. Since every effort had to be made to lessen dependence on imported foreign goods, English manufacturers were encouraged to produce what was needed at home or what could also be exported. Overseas colonies were expected to contribute to this goal and to the economic well-being of the mother country by producing scarce or valuable commodities such as crude raw materials, naval stores, and luxury items. These commodities would diminish the quantity of costly imports that the English had to purchase from foreign countries. The colonies would also serve as a market for labor-intensive manufactured goods produced in England, thereby stimulating domestic production and increasing exports. After the middle of the seventeenth century, England was able to obtain from her colonies supplies of tobacco, sugar, and naval stores, three costly commodities that earlier had to be imported from Spain, Portugal, and Scandinavia. The quantities of tobacco and sugar produced by her colonies was eventually so great that merchants and other Englishmen were able to profit by reexporting the surplus to other countries.

In theory and sometimes in reality, the mercantilist strategy was to create a partnership between the mother country and her colonies, a partnership that would benefit all citizens of the empire if they played their assigned role. The system assumed that legal restrictions on trade and manufacturing were necessary to protect the commercial interests of the entire empire. These restrictions were not meant to discriminate against colonists since the rights of all citizens to participate equally in the trade of the empire were explicitly recognized. Protected by certain features of the mercantilist framework of laws, the colonies did prosper economically, but they also soon became intent on promoting and protecting their own trade and commercial interests, even when such a course conflicted with the interests of the merchant community in England.⁴

By the beginning of the eighteenth century some colonies were becoming discontented with their imposed role as suppliers of raw materials and consumers of English manufactured goods. This discontent, arising from a variety of causes, increased

existing tensions between Virginia planters and English administrative officials. By the end of the seventeenth century the crown's attitude, which at first favored balanced economic experimentation and a variety of interests, had gradually changed to indifference and finally, under James II, to active opposition to attempts to establish towns or to diversity Virginia's single-crop tobacco economy. After 1680 royal officials increasingly conceived of Virginia's role in the empire solely as a producer of tobacco in ever-larger quantities (thereby increasing the king's revenue from customs duties) and as a consumer of English goods.

Viewed in this light, attempts to diversify the colony's economy or to promote the manufacture of finished goods were seen as harmful since they distracted Virginians from playing their part in the mercantilist strategy. Virginia planters, on the other hand, suffering from a succession of economic depressions and low tobacco prices brought on by overproduction and an inefficient marketing system, saw diversification schemes and local manufactures as a way to lessen their dependence on England and to strengthen their economy. It is difficult to determine the relative importance of the concern over diversification, both in England and in Virginia. There is evidence that once the marketing system was improved, tobacco continued to be a profitable crop for most Virginia planters throughout the period before the American Revolution. In the long run, attempts to promote diversification and manufacturing in Virginia were largely unsuccessful, probably because of geographic and economic causes, rather than because of increasing English opposition.⁵

English Policy Toward Colonial Manufactures

Considering the functions that colonies were expected to perform within the mercantilist framework, it is not surprising that royal officials were opposed to most, if not all, attempts to foster manufacturing operations in England's overseas settlements. Victor Clark, in his study of the development of manu-

factures in the United States, found that the official English policy of discouraging industrial production in the colonies was expressed in four ways: (1) parliamentary laws regulating trade and navigation, (2) laws relating directly to manufactures in the colonies and in England, (3) administrative actions taken concerning laws passed by the various colonial legislatures, (4) general administrative policy relative to colonial industries. The responsibility for overseeing commerce and mercantile affairs and for administering royal policy lay with the Board of Trade, which advised the King of these matters beginning in 1688. Clark believed that natural influences were more critical in explaining the failure of the colonies to develop manufactures to any significant degree than were parliamentary measures or royal policies. He concluded that the mercantilist-oriented policy of Britain had little decisive impact on the industrial development of the colonies, one way or the other.⁶

Enacted in the 1660s, the Navigation Acts regulated shipping and commerce with the aim of excluding foreign rivals and ensuring that the economic advantages and profits of the colonial trade be reserved for Englishmen only. Basically these acts required that: (1) all trade with the colonies be carried in English or colonial vessels, (2) certain enumerated commodities such as tobacco be transported only to England or another English colony, (3) with few exceptions all European goods transported to the colonies either come from England or else pass through English ports before going to America. A combination of rebates, export bounties, and other inducements were also employed to direct the course of economic development within the empire. A later act, passed in 1673, set up a system of duties and taxes and provided for the enforcement of these laws by establishing customs and naval officers in the colonies. These laws probably had little direct effect on the development of manufactures in America except to increase the price of most goods imported from foreign countries, and thereby lessen returns from domestic produce, sometimes make locally produced goods relatively cheaper.⁷

In three subsequent instances, Parliament also enacted restraining laws directly affecting manufacturing in the colonies. The Wool Act (1699) made it illegal for the colonists to export certain types of cloth and wool made there, the Hat Act (1732) prohibited the exportation of colonial-made hats, and the Iron Act (1750) prohibited the erection of any new iron mills in the colonies that were capable of producing finished items. These later additions to the original Navigation Acts were the result of pressure brought to bear on Parliament by special interest groups in England, mostly merchants and manufacturers. Even these explicit attempts to restrict specific colonial industries were ineffective, primarily because adequate provisions were not made to ensure their enforcement. The Iron Act actually encouraged the production of crude iron in the colonies, but discouraged the manufacture of finished iron wares. This act, the only one of the three that threatened to have an adverse impact in America, did not apparently check the development of the iron industry in the colonies. Most colonists openly defied the act of 1750 and continued to build new mills and furnaces. Although these prohibitory acts had little real impact, they carried an implicit threat that interference with other domestic manufactures might be attempted at any time in response to pressure from English special interest groups.⁸

A third way English mercantile policy was exercised was through use of the royal veto to disallow laws passed in the colonies that the crown and the Board of Trade believed were contrary to the established principles of the mercantile system. By and large this expression of English policy was not an important hindrance to the advancement of manufactures in Virginia. The colony's legislative body enacted only a few laws designed to promote specific domestic industries by offering bounties or other advantages and they did not flagrantly conflict with the mercantilist strategy. As early as 1682, for example, several short-term laws were enacted to encourage the local manufacture of cloth.⁹ After 1690, however, certain laws enacted by the General Assembly to promote the creation of ports and towns were

opposed by English merchants and subsequently annulled. Since it sometimes took a year or more for a veto to take effect, it is difficult to evaluate what impact such negative action had on these attempts to diversify Virginia's economy and lessen the over reliance on tobacco. Around 1700 a slight decline in the colonial consumption of English goods coupled with reports by officials who overestimated the growth of colonial manufacturing led British merchants and the Board of Trade to believe that the colonies would soon be self-sufficient. This belief increased royal opposition to Virginia's last legislative attempt to create towns in 1706. The reasons underlying the crown's annulment of this town act were stated quite explicitly:

The whole Act is designed to Encourage by great Priviledges the settling in Townships, and such settlements will encourage their going on with the Woolen and other Manufactures there. And should this Act be Confirmed, the Establishing of Towns . . . will put them upon further Improvements on the said manufactures, and take them off from the Planting of Tobacco, which would be of very ill consequence, not only in respect to the Exports of our Woolen and other Goods and Consequently to the Dependence that Colony ought to have on this Kingdom, but likewise in respect to the Importation of Tobacco hither for the home and Foreign Consumption . . .¹⁰

One could not ask for a plainer statement of the narrow role Virginia had been assigned within the economy of the empire. After 1719 a few laws, designed to promote ironworks, were passed in Maryland and Virginia that seem to have avoided annulment. A later attempt in 1723 to enact a law in Virginia to foster other manufactures failed, however, as the bill was never approved by the legislature. Even when such acts were passed and allowed to take effect, it is doubtful that they ever accomplished very much.¹¹

The fourth and most immediate means of enforcing English administrative policy toward colonial manufactures was through the governors who were the crown's representatives in the colonies. Official policy was embodied in a group of instructions that were drawn up by the Board of Trade and issued to each royal governor.

In these policy directives governors were given a detailed series of orders on a myriad of subjects, some applying to all royal colonies and others included expressly for specific reasons. As early as 1696 the Board of Trade began to occasionally query some governors about economic and political developments in the colonies. The Board's policy decisions and recommendations to the king were probably based in part on information obtained from the answers sent back by the governors. These queries were evident of a growing concern on the part of administrative officials in London over the state of trade and commerce in the empire, but they also reflected pressure that was being exerted on the Board by English merchants and manufacturers who were worried about provincial competition. In theory the Board formulated policy and drew up instructions after considering the interests of all segments of the empire, but after 1700 the instructions given to the colonial governors became increasingly partial to English interests. As merchants and other special interest groups began to influence the direction of colonial policy, the point of view of the colonists was largely disregarded.¹²

Since royal governors had the authority to veto laws enacted by the colonial legislatures, an important section of their instructions concerning what sort of laws they were to encourage or suppress. In the early years of the eighteenth century these instructions began to reflect a growing determination in London to prevent the development of a mature, independent economy in the colonies. In 1717 the Board of Trade circulated a new instruction to all governors that they were not to approve any new laws that might interfere with the trade or shipping of Great Britain until such laws had been reviewed in England. This instruction was expanded in 1724 and in 1732 to forbid the colonies to enact laws that imposed any duties on imported goods or that gave the colonies any special economic advantages. In effect the colonies were rendered powerless to do anything to foster their own economic development if it affected British trade.¹³

As a matter of policy, the Board of Trade also discouraged the development of manufacturing in the American colonies.

Although no specific clause to this effect has been found in the official set of instructions given to Virginia's governors during the period from 1710 to 1740, the Board of Trade did issue the following instruction to the governor of Nova Scotia in 1749: "And it being our intention to give all possible encouragement to the trade of all our subjects, you are to use your best endeavors to that end, taking care that no trade be carried on or manufacture set up in our said province that may interfere with the trade or manufacture of this Kingdom."¹⁴ In addition to disallowing certain laws, the Board was therefore also attempting to exert more direct control over the course of colonial economic development through its instructions to the governors, who were the chief royal administrators in America. In 1749 instruction for Nova Scotia probably represented what the Board had expected of all colonial governors for some time, but it would be a mistake to assume that this policy prevented the colonists from engaging in domestic industries.

Whether or not the governors of Virginia operated under an order such as the one quoted above is not the crucial point. It should be remembered that these instructions did not have the same force as statute law, but merely told the governors what they should try to accomplish and how to react to certain situations. These instructions were therefore only as effective as the governors were willing or able to obey them. Although some governors were energetic and conscientious, others were apathetic, and those who were sympathetic to the colonial viewpoint often ignored their instructions or objected them in form only. Because these instructions were not enforced uniformly they do not indicate the degree of control that the crown actually exercised in the colonies.¹⁵ In Virginia, two able and talented men served as governors during much of the first half of the eighteenth century. Their willingness to consider the colonists' interests as well as those of England had important implications, to be discussed later in this chapter, for the development of manufactures in the colony. One historian has asserted that the inflexibility and partiality of the governors'

instructions contributed to the eventual failure of royal government in America. As the colonists increasingly perceived that their needs were being ignored in favor of those of British mercantile groups, they began to lose all respect for their governors and their instructions.¹⁶

There is some disagreement among historians concerning the overall effectiveness of British efforts to suppress diversification and manufactures in the colonies. Some years ago Victor Clark concluded that "upon the whole the industrial development of the colonies was about where it would have been had their economic policies been governed by their own people."¹⁷ Clark believed that natural geographical influences were more critical than political forces in shaping colonial economic development. More recently John Hemphill, in his study of the Virginia economy from 1689 to 1733, has found that the colony was deprived of control over its economic life and forced into a pattern of economic dependence. Hemphill maintained that British merchants, by successfully influencing royal administrative policy, managed to frustrate the colonists' efforts to achieve a more stable, mature, and diversified economy.¹⁸ It is likely that both natural and political restrictions worked together to prevent manufactures from making substantial advances in Virginia during the eighteenth century.

The Impact of Regional Economic Conditions

There is evidence that during the first half of the 18th C. there was a direct relationship between local economic conditions and the periodic concern shown in England over the growth of manufacturing in Virginia. During periods of economic depression and low tobacco prices Virginians were forced to renew attempts to manufacture their own cloth and other goods since they could no longer afford to buy what was imported from England. The temporary decreases in trade to America during such depressions prompted merchants and manufacturers in England to pressure Parliament and royal administrators to act to restrict and discourage colonial

industries. In response the colonists in Virginia used the threat of increased manufacturing as a weapon to gain royal approval for measures that would improve tobacco prices and bring economic recovery.

This problem was a source of contention between royal officials and colonists in Virginia and elsewhere. The Board of Trade realized that the colonists had to somehow pay for the English goods they were expected to consume, but the Board believed the colonies should produce staples or naval stores instead of making their own finished goods. By concentrating on such tasks the colonists would fit more efficiently, and profitably, into the mercantilist strategy. One English official, commenting on the development of the woolen industry in New England reported "that by making Tar, etc., they get money enough to buy 2 coats in the time they are carding, spinning, etc., to make one, they will not believe unless they see it tried before their faces."¹⁹ Regardless of the accuracy of this assessment, when the colonists were facing economic difficulties they saw their own interests in a different light.

Virginia's governors frequently used the threat of domestic manufactures to exert pressure on administrative officials to do something to improve the state of the tobacco trade. In the early years of Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood's administration he reported that the people were planting flax and cotton and making their own cloth because of the low price tobacco was bringing.²⁰ Again in 1730 Governor William Gooch explained to the Board of Trade that the reason Virginians were importing fewer goods from England was the low price of tobacco. He went on to say that the tobacco planters had neither the cash nor the credit to pay for imported goods, except for basic necessities. Gooch predicted that unless the economy improved Virginians would be forced to manufacture their own goods.²¹ In a memorial to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, probably written in 1731, the members of Virginia's Council explained their situation regarding manufactures in detail:

Nothing but inevitable Necessity will ever induce the People of this Colony to go upon any kind of Manufactures interfering with those of their Mother Country. When Tobacco bears but a moderate price Every Planter can be supplied with all the Necessaries he wants out of the Produce of his Crops, at much easier Rates than he can furnish himself by any Home Manufactures; But the price of tobacco having been continually declining for divers years past, it is not to be admired if many poor people no longer able to gain Clothing for thier Famlys, by their Crops, have tried to raise Cotton and Flax and to make a kind of coarse cloth . . . this is a shift they have often been put to upon the like Occasion, and will no doubt, have the same Duration, as it had them: for no sooner did tobacco begin to rise in value, than all these new fangled Manufactures vanished . . . and so it will be again.²²

John Hemphill, in his study of Virginia's economy and the English commercial system during the first third of the eighteenth century, has analyzed the relationship between economic conditions in Virginia and the mercantile policies of the English government. He found that Virginia's colonial economy was characterized by a cyclical pattern of prosperity and depression resulting from wars and over dependence upon tobacco as the single export staple. With the outbreak of war in Europe in 1702, freight and insurance rates increased, shipping became scarce, tobacco prices fell, and Virginia generally suffered a severe economic depression until about 1714. At that time the economy slowly began to recover and adverse weather kept tobacco prices strong until 1719 when overproduction caused the market in London to weaken. This period of improvement had thus hardly gotten under way when a financial crisis in Europe again plunged the tobacco trade into depression in 1720. Although there were brief periods of partial and illusionary recovery, the years from 1720 through 1730 brought persistent hard times to Virginia and were characterized by the overproduction of and lagging demand for tobacco, low prices, and scarce credit. Only after 1730 did this severe depression bottom out in Virginia and the economy slowly begin to recover.²³

Despite these periods of severe economic depression, tobacco cultivation continued to be a profitable activity for most Virginians during most of the eighteenth century. It is likely that another factor contributed to the recurring interest in diversification that periodically appeared in Virginia from the seventeenth century well into the 1730s. Before the passage of Virginia's tobacco inspection act in 1730 and the growth of a direct purchasing system, the marketing of tobacco was inefficient and hindered the easy exchange of the staple for goods from Europe. After 1730 merchants were setting up new stores, extending more credit, and making available a better selection of imported goods. This development, along with a gradual improvement in the economy and of tobacco prices, may explain why Virginians apparently lost interest in promoting diversification schemes by the 1740s.²⁴

Although Virginians were more likely to attempt home manufactures during period of economic depression, it was at these times that they had the least capital available to invest in such ventures.²⁵ Perhaps William Rogers, observing the effect of Virginia's over dependence on tobacco during his early years in Yorktown, determined to diversify his own business affairs. Apparently he had amassed enough capital to begin operating his pottery works as early as 1720. In any case Rogers chose an excellent time to begin producing pots since his ceramics could compete with European and British imports to greater advantage during an economic depression.

The long depression in the tobacco trade during the 1720s eventually ended with a period of intense conflict between British merchants and Virginia planters. This conflict was part of a larger confrontation between influential Englishmen and hard-pressed colonists. In 1730 a group of wealthy British merchants, concerned over the poor state of the colonial trade, began petitioning Parliament to take some action that would protect their interests and that would suppress the flurry of industrial activity that the depression had provoked in the colonies. Parliament in response asked the Board of Trade to prepare a report or representation on the state of laws, trade,

and manufactures in the colonies that might adversely affect the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain.²⁶ Drawing upon information received from colonial administrators over the past decades, the Board prepared several reports for both houses of Parliament from 1731 to 1734. One of these representations, presented to the House of Lords in 1734, systematically surveyed all laws, trade, and manufactures in the colonies that in any way affected British interests. The Board noted that it was often very difficult to obtain accurate and complete information on the state of trade and manufactures in the colonies. The New England settlements appear to have been the most secretive and uncooperative of all. The Board went on to observe that some former governors may have, despite their instructions, concurred with laws or tolerated "the practice of trades prejudicial to the interest of Great Britain."²⁷ Having admitted to some failure on their part in administering official policy, the Board of Trade outlined what actions had been taken to stop such "prejudicial" practices, and stated its intent to exercise continued surveillance over manufacturing and trade in the colonies. This was accomplished by requiring periodic reports from governors in the colonies, who were sent a long list of specific questions to answer. The Board's reports reflect a recognition on the part of both royal officials and the mercantile interests that during the 1720s many American colonists had been actively attempting to advance manufactures and had managed to largely conceal their efforts from the English, sometimes with the help of cooperative governors.

The Role of the Royal Governors

The men who served as the king's governors occupied critical positions since they were the chief enforcers of the crown's policies in the colonies. As such they played a crucial role in determining the relative success or failure of English efforts to shape the direction of economic development in America and to suppress manufactures in the colonies.

Virginia's lieutenant governor from 1710 to 1722 was Col. Alexander Spotswood, an able, vigorous, and conscientious defender of the royal prerogative in political and religious affairs. Spotswood being a forecful man, the early years of his administration were marked by many conflicts with the General Assembly. After a decade of disputes Spotswood cast his lot with the colonists, became a planter, and continued to live in Virginia after he ceased to be governor. Although he was a staunch supporter of royal authority in the colony he came more and more to identify with the colonists in their attempts to build a stable economy and he also resented the English merchants who interfered in the colony's affairs to promote their private interests. Early in his tenure as lieutenant governor Spotswood evidenced a strong interest in local manufactures. In 1714, 1717, and again in 1719 he encouraged German miners to settle on the frontier at Germanna in order to begin the mining of iron ore and the manufacture of iron products. After his retirement from public life in 1722 Spotswood lived near Germanna and owned an ironworks that produced some finished products as well as pig iron. By 1720 Spotswood had come to believe that the interests of Great Britain would best be served by encouraging prosperity in Virginia.²⁸

Considering his own investment in manufacturing there seems to be little doubt that Spotswood must have viewed William Rogers' pottery factory with approval. Hugh Drysdale succeeded Spotswood as lieutenant governor of Virginia in 1722. His brief administration, which ended with his death in 1726, was noted for its quiet, uneventful nature. Drysdale was a tactful if not energetic governor, and although he was a faithful royal servant he clearly tried to steer a prudent middle course in his relations with the colonists. There is evidence that the Board of Trade encouraged Drysdale to exercise his authority with caution.²⁹ This may indicate that the Board was, for a time, not very worried about the issue of colonial manufactures. Governor Drysdale apparently never thought it was necessary to inform the Board of the existence of Rogers' pottery works in Yorktown.

With the arrival of William Gooch as lieutenant governor in 1727, Virginia entered a period of over two decades of gradually increasing prosperity and progress. In Richard Morton's estimate, "his administration was one of the most harmonious and successful of the Colonial Period."³⁰ The key to Gooch's success was his reasonableness, good sense, and flexibility. One student of Gooch's administration noted that he was a "striking example of what an energetic, forceful royal governor, who was influenced by conditions in the colony and not altogether by his instructions, could accomplish, both for the colony and for the British government."³¹ His willingness to advocate a compromise policy, one that balanced and considered both the interests of the empire and the welfare of Virginians was an important factor in the colony's economic growth after 1730 and may have contributed somewhat to the continued existence of such manufacturing attempts as the pottery factory and Spotswood's ironworks. In pursuing this policy Gooch demonstrated that he was ready at times to oppose the official position of the Board of Trade and the mercantile interest groups in England, even to the point of disregarding the spirit of his instructions.³²

Alexander Spotswood's correspondence with the Board of Trade contains few references to manufactures in Virginia, except for his attempts to persuade the reluctant members to approve his schemes for setting up the Germanna ironworks. In 1713, Spotswood warned the Board that low tobacco prices were forcing some Virginians, out of necessity, to turn to other trades and away from tobacco planting. He also predicted that the increase in home manufactures, especially of cloth, might in time present a threat to the industries of Great Britain.³³ A very incomplete report on conditions in the colonies was prepared by the Board of Trade in 1721, based on correspondence with American officials. Only timber and tar were mentioned, however, in the section on products manufactured in Virginia.³⁴ The members of the Board of Trade at this time seem not to have been overly concerned with colonial manufactures unless groups such as English merchants and manufacturers applied pressure in Parliament, which in turn instructed the Board to take action.

Beginning in 1730 William Gooch usually provided the Board of Trade with answers to long questionnaires relating to trade and manufactures in Virginia, and a number of his responses have survived.³⁵ Since Gooch's reports, as far as we know, are the only official information on the Yorktown pottery factory ever received by English governmental authorities they are important. The relevant portions of these reports from 1732 through 1742 are as follows:

1730, 1731 Only cloth manufacture mentioned

1732 As to manufactures sett up, there is one poor Potter's work for course earthen ware, which is of so little Consequence, that I dare say there hath not been twenty Shillings worth less of that Commodity imported since it was sett up than there was before

1733 As to Manufactures sett up, Wee have at York Town upon York River one poor Potter's Work for Earthen Ware, which is so very inconsiderable that I dare say there has not been forty Shillings' worth less of that Commodity imported since it was Erected than there was before; the poorest Familys being the only Purchasers, who not being able to send to England for such Things would do without them, if they could not gett them Here.

1734 As to manufactures, we have at York Town, on York River one poor Potter's work for earthen ware, which is so very inconsiderable, that there has been little less of that Commodity imported since it was Erected, than there was before.

1735 We have at York Town one Potter's work, so very inconsiderable, that it has not lessened the Importation of such manufacture since it was sett up.

1736 The same poor Potter's Work is still continued at York Town without any great Improvement or Advantage to the Owner, or any Injury to the Trade of Great Britain.

1737 Potter's Work - The Potter continued his Business (at York Town in this Colony) of making Potts and Panns, with very little Advantage to himself and without any dammage to the Trade.

1738 No report found

1739 The poor Potter's Operation is unworthy of your Lordships notice.

1740 No report found

1741 The poor potter is Dead, and the business of making potts & panns, is of little advantage to his Family, and as little Damage to the Trade of our Mother Country.

1742 As to the Natural produce of the Country³⁶ (there
being no Manufactures besides Tobacco . . .

Earlier studies have pointed out that Gooch's reports, while obeying the letter of his instructions, are substantially false in both what was implied and what was left unsaid. Archaeological evidence concerning the size and extent of the operation and the quality of the wares being produced indicates that the pottery works at Yorktown was far more important than Gooch's descriptions lead one to suspect. Since Gooch presumably was aware of the actual scope of the operation his misleading assessments much have been deliberate. This is not surprising considering Gooch's willingness to champion the colonists' interests, especially when they were threatened by what he viewed as the selfish English mercantile lobby. Such deception was commonplace. The Board of Trade suspected, with good reason, that most governors sent incomplete and inadequate reports to England, especially when describing the state of local manufactures.³⁷

As a conscientious, loyal, and prudent royal official Gooch was obliged to at least mention the existence of the pottery operation. He may have been essentially correct in his assertion that it posed no real threat to the industry in England, since Rogers' wares may have been purchased mostly by people who otherwise would have done without. After briefly assuring the Board of Trade in 1732 that Rogers' pottery works were of no consequence, Gooch hastened to warn that if the Board was concerned about manufactures, it should look carefully at New England. In a classic example of distracting attention by pointing elsewhere, Gooch confided that development in the northern colonies could possibly damage the trade and manufactures of the mother country. This is not the only occasion on which Gooch misled the Board of Trade concerning local manufactures, since his comments on the state of the iron industry in Virginia are similar to those about the pottery factory. Leonidas Dodson, in his biography of Alexander Spotswood, states that "Gooch realized that he could best serve the Virginia iron industry by minimizing its importance."³⁸

Had the Board of Trade been seriously concerned about colonial manufactures they might have questioned Gooch's monotonously deprecatory assessments, but as far as we know, the Board in true bureaucratic fashion merely absorbed his reports and never asked for more details. It should be remembered that neither the pottery factory nor the several ironworks in Virginia were in any way illegal operations, since neither their existence nor the marketing of their products (except to non-British colonies) was prohibited by existing statutes. Considering the apparent lack of real concern on the part of the Board of Trade it is curious that Gooch felt it necessary to prepare deceptive reports. Gooch probably realized that complete honesty would only result in problems for everyone and would put himself in the uncomfortable position of eventually having to explain what he had done to discourage these operations. More important, there was a possibility that an alarmed merchant-manufacturers interest group would influence Parliament to enact laws restricting these undertakings. This had already occurred in relation to the woolens and hat industries and was to affect the iron industry in 1750 when the Iron Act was passed. In this light Gooch's middle of the road policy appears not only prudent but also necessary if Rogers' factory was to have a fair chance of succeeding.

FOOTNOTES

1. Watkins and Hume, "Poor Potter" of Yorktown, 76.

2. Bining, British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry,

4.

3. McCusker and Menard, Economy of British America, chap. 3, "The Strategy of Economic Development" Mercantilism, Colonization, and the Navigation System."

4. This discussion of mercantilism is based primarily on chap. 3 of McCusker and Menard, Economy of British America, cited above, and on Victor S. Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States (New York, 1949), I, 9-11.

5. For varying interpretations of the importance of diversification efforts in colonial Virginia and their relative success, see: McCusker and Menard, Economy of British America, chap. 7, "The Chesapeake Colonies"; Rainbolt, "The Virginia Vision"; Bergstrom, "Markets and Merchants"; Grim, "Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia"; O'Mara, "Urbanization in Tidewater Virginia"; John M. Hemphill, "Virginia and the English Commercial System, 1689-1733; Studies in the Development and Fluctuations of a Colonial Economy under Imperial Control" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1964).

6. Clark, History of Manufactures, I, 16-18.

7. Lawrence A. Harper, The English Navigation Laws: A Seventeenth-Century Experiment in Social Engineering (New York, 1964), 381-384; Oliver M. Dickerson, The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution (Philadelphia, 1951), 6-7; McCusker and

Menard, Economy of British America, chap. 3, "The Strategy of Economic Development"; Clark, History of Manufactures, I, 16-21.

8. Clark, History of Manufactures, I, 22-25; Dickerson, Navigation Acts, 18-21, 44-49; Bining, British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry, 68-71, 85-93.

9. Hening, Statutes, II, 503-506, III, 16, 30, 50, 121; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1979), 2d ed., 46, 53-54, 76, 113, 117, 183

10. "Reasons for Repealing the Acts pass'd in Virginia and Maryland relating to Ports and Towns," in William P. Palmer, ed., Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts, 1652-1781 (Richmond, 1875), I, 137-138; Rainbolt, "The Virginia Vision," 447-468.

11. Bining, British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry, 16; Edward F. Heite, "The Pioneer Phase of the Chesapeake Iron Industry: Naturalization of a Technology," Quarterly Bulletin, Archaeological Society of Virginia, XXXVIII (1983), 133-145; McIlwaine, ed., Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 699-701

12. Bergstrom, "Markets and Merchants," 107-109; Leonard W. Labaree, Royal Government in America: A Study of the British Colonial System before 1783 (New Haven, Conn., 1930), 1-36, 61-63, 441-446.

13.. Labaree, Royal Government in America, 227-234.

14. Leonard W. Labaree, ed., Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670-1776 (New York, 1967), II, 662.

15. Clark, History of Manufactures, I, 14, 27-30; Labaree, Royal Government in America, 420-448; Bergstrom, "Markets and Merchants," 105-107.
16. Labaree, Royal Government in America, 61-63, 441-447.
17. Clark, History of Manufactures, I, 30.
18. Hemphill, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," abstract, 1-4.
19. Robert G. Albion, Forests and Sea Power: The Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862 (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), 238-239. See also Bining, British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry, 46-47.
20. Alexander Spotswood to the Commissioners of Trade, March 20, 1710/11, C.O. 5/1316/16, P.R.O.
21. William Gooch to the Board of Trade, July 25, 1730, C.O. 5/1322/68-74, P.R.O. See also Hemphill, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," 89-97.
22. "Memorial from Council of Virginia to Commissioners for Trade and Plantations," received January 17, 1731/32, C.O. 5/1322/194-199, P.O.O.
23. Hemphill, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," 1-4, chaps, 1 and 2.
24. Bergstrom, "Markets and Merchants," 180-183; Gill, "Storekeeping in Colonial Virginia."
25. Bergstrom, "Markets and Merchants," 13-14.
26. Hemphill, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," 149-150; Clark, History of Manufactures, I, 202-205; Leo F. Stock, ed., Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting

North America (Washington, D.C., 1937), IV, 120-134, 173-175, 224-231.

27. "Representations of Commissioners for Trade and Plantations touching laws, manufactures, etc. in colonies and plantations of America affecting the Trade etc. of this Kingdom," January 23, 1733/34. Main Papers, House of Lords Record Office. See also Original Correspondence, Secretary of State, Dispatches and Miscellaneous 1733-1748, C.O. 5/5/1-65, P.R.O. for another version of this report.

28. Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1960), 409-414, 444-445, 475-483; Leonidas Dodson, Alexander Spotswood, Governor of Colonial Virginia, 1710-1722 (Philadelphia, Penn., 1932), passim, but esp. 229-232, 277-281.

29. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 483-484, 490-497.

30. Ibid., 50.

31. Percy S. Flippio, The Royal Government in Virginia, 1624-1775 (New York, 1919), 124-127.

32. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 507-508, 528; Percy S. Flippin, "William Gooch: Successful Royal Governor of Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 2d Ser., VI (1926), 1-38.

33. Alexander Spotswood to the Board of Trade, September 14, 1713, C.O. 5/1316/28, P.R.O.; Dodson, Alexander Spotswood, 233.

34. Report of special committee of the Board of Trade, September 8, 1721, C.O. 324/10/351-356, P.R.O. See also Clark, History of Manufactures, I, 200-202.

35. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 528.

36. William Gooch to the Board of Trade: July 25, 1730, C.O. 5/1322/68-74, P.R.O.; December 22, 1731, mentioned in the "Representations," see note 27 above; October 5, 1732, September 12, 1733, and May 24, 1734, C.O. 5/1323/62-66, 93-94, 120; July 18, 1735, May 19, 1736, June 20, 1737, and July 3, 1739, C.O. 5/1324/5-8, 20-21, 59-60, 167-168; August 26, 1741 and August 11, 1742, C.O. 5/1325/44-47, 113-119, all in P.R.O.

37. Bining, British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry, 24. See also the discussion of the Yorktown pottery factory in the introduction and chap. 5 of this study.

38. William Gooch to the Board of Trade, October 5, 1732, C.O. 5/1323/62-66, P.R.O. See also Dodson, Alexander Spotswood, 296-297.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I:

IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS CONCERNING WILLIAM ROGERS AND HIS FAMILY, 1739-1768

The nine documents transcribed below (primarily wills and probate inventories) are the most important sources of information about William Rogers and his family that have survived. Several have been published before, but are included here in the interest of completeness and accuracy; the others have never been printed in full. Although additional information can be found in other court records and elsewhere, any attempt to understand Rogers and his commercial involvements must begin with these records.

The first three documents (William Rogers' will, inventory, and estate settlement), contain a wealth of material about his personal life and business affairs. We learn, for example, that the Reverend Fontaine preached his funeral sermon and that wine and cider were served at his wake. Also, the men who drew up his inventory appear to have followed a sequence. First they listed objects in his dwelling, then the kitchen, the pottery factory and other outbuildings, and finally items relating to boats and the warehouse at the waterside. All of these documents contain important insights into the lives of Rogers and his various family members and deserve careful study.

A. WILL OF WILLIAM ROGERS¹

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. I Wm. Rogers of the parish of Yorkhampton in the County of York /,/ Merchant /,/ being sick and weak of body but of sound & perfect Sence & Memory thanks to Almighty God for the same do make and ordain this my last Will & Testament hereby revoking all other Wills by me heretofore made. First I recommend my Soul to God that gave it /to/ me and my body to the Earth to be buried at the discretion of my Extrix, hereafter named And as to /the/ settling of my Temporal Estate wch. it hath pleased

God to bless me with I give & dispose of the same in manner following. Impr/i/mis, I give & bequeath to my dearly beloved wife Theodosia Rogers one Silver Salver, one large Silver Can with a Coat of Arms engraved thereon a large Silver soop spoon two silver Salts and Eleven Silver spoons with a Crest engraved thereon and all the China Ware in the House and all the glases belonging to the Beaufet and all the Table Linnen & Sheets and all other Linnin used about my house, one white Bed Quilt worked at the four Corners and in the middle with S H in a Cypher and also my Coach and four Coach horses also my Clock and all my reading books. Item, I give & bequeath unto my said wife in full of her Dower two Lotts lying & being in the City of Wmsburgh together with the Dwelling House and other houses thereunto belonging, And also a Lott lying behind Cheshires Lott number 63 in York Town that I bought of Mr. Gwyn Reade with all the Improvements upon it during her Life and after her death to go to my two Daughters Sarah & Hannah Rogers & their heirs. And in case they both should dye without heir then my said Wife shall dispose of them among my relations to whom she shall think proper. Item, I give & bequeath unto my said Wife the following Negro Slaves Vizt. three Men by Name Waterford Adam and Blackwall and one Negro woman named Betty and her Child Peggy and two Negro Girls by Name Lucy & Molly, and their Increase during her Life and after her death she shall divide them between my two Daughters Sarah & Hannah Rogers and their Heirs and in case they both should dye without heir then my said Wife shall dispose of them among my relations to whom she shall think proper. Item, I give & bequeath unto my sd. Wife one certain Tract or parcel of Land lying & being and adjoining to Mountforts Mill Dam in the County of York commonly called & known by the Name of Tarripin Point during her Life and after her death to go to my son Wm. Rogers and his heirs for Ever. Item, I also give & bequeath unto my said wife Theodosia Rogers the price of Land that I bought of Mr. Edmd. Smith except /for/ one Chain and that to be laid off at the end next /to/ the Lott that I bought of Francis Moss with all the Improvements upon it And in case I shou'd dye before I build upon it I then leave all the plank & framing stuff together with the window frames & all the other things design'd for the house

to my sd. wife and not to be appraised with my Estate and if my Carpenter is not free that he shall not be appraised but serve his time out with my said wife. Item, I give & bequeath unto my son Wm. Rogers when he shall attain to the age of Twenty one Years all my Lotts in York Town where I now dwell with all the houses thereunto belonging and also the warehouse by the waterside and all other my Lands and Tenements wherever lying & being except the Lotts & Land before given to my wife to him & his heirs forever but in case he shou'd dye without heir then I give the said Lands, Lotts & houses to be divided between my three Daughters Susanna Reynolds, Sarah Rogers and Hannah Rogers and to their heirs forever but in case my Daughters shou'd dye without heirs then I do appoint my sd. Lands, Lotts & houses to be sold by my Extrix and the money to be divided equally amongst my brothers and Sisters Children share & share alike. Item, I give & bequeath unto my said Son Wm. Rogers Six Negro Men by name Joe, Tony, Harry, George, Tom and Jack and one India Man named Pritty which sd. Slaves I do direct shall be deliver'd to my sd. Son when he attains to the age of Twenty one years and not before. I also give unto my sd. Son one silver Tea pott two Silver Cans marked FPM and two Silver Salts of the same mark and Six Silver spoons marked WT^FR also my silver hilted Sword/,/watch & Spurrs and a young horse, Colt folded May the 4th, MDCCXXXV. Item, I give & bequeath unto my Daughter Susanna Reynolds two Negro Men by name York & London and one Negro woman named Phillis & her three Children, Chloe, Kate & Rachel and a Negro boy named Jimmy and their Increase wch. said Negros my will is shall be deliver'd to her six Months after my decease without I shall think proper to give her any of them in my Life time. Item, I give & bequeath unto my Daughter Sarah Rogers two Negro men by Name Monmouth & Ben and one Negro Woman named Phoeby and her four Children Sary Nanny Cato & Frank and all their Increase to be deliver'd to her when she attains to Lawfull age or day of Marriage and in case she dyeth before then to be equally divided between my wife & Children then alive. In Case Ben shou'd be sold the Mony shall be laid out in buying another Negro for her. Item, I give and bequeath unto my Daughter Hannah Rogers three Negro Men by name Barnaby, Samson and Quareo and one Negro Woman named Nanny and

her three Children Amy/,/ Grace & Lazarus and all their Increase to be deliver'd to her when she attains to Lawfull Age or day of Marriage and in case she dyeth before then to be equally divided between my wife and Children then alive. Item, My Will and desire is that all the rest of my personel Estate in Virga. or elsewhere by appraised and after my just debts & funeral Charges are paid then the Surplus thereof to be equally divided between my Wife and three Children that is to say Wm. Rogers/,/ Sarah Rogers and Hannah Rogers and that in Lieu of my Daughter Susanna Reynolds's part of the said remainder of my personel Estate I give and bequeath unto her the Lott that I bought of Mr. Francis Moss known by the No. 75 together with the Brickhouse and all other Improvements upon it also one Chain of the Land that I bought of Mr. Edmd. Smith to be taken at the end next /to/ the Lott to her & her heirs for Ever and in case I dye before the house is done I then leave also bricks enough to finish the house together wth. the window frames & doors, and what other framing was design'd for her house and that my Daughters Sarah & Hannah's part be paid them when they attain to the aid of Twenty one Years or day of Marriage as aforesd. and my intent is that no potters ware not burnt and fit for Sale shall be appraised. Item, My Will and desire is that my beloved Wife shall have the care of my sd. Son Wm. Rogers until he attains to the age of Twenty one years and I do direct that my sd. Wife do allow him til he comes to age the Sum of Twenty five pounds Currnt. money p/er/ annum for Cloaths and pocket Mony and to enable my sd. Wife to defray the Expence of my Sons Dyet/,/ Lodging & washing with the charge of his Cloathing & pocket Mony aforesd. I do hereby give & devise unto my said wife the Use and profit of all the Estate both real & personal hereby devised unto my said Son until he shall attain to the age of Twenty Years as aforesd. if he shall live so long. Item, I do order and direct that if my said Son should happen to dye before he attains to the Age of Twenty Years as aforesd. then the Negros & Personal Estate hereby given him shall be equally divided between my wife and three Daughters or the Survivors of them. Item, My will and desire is that my beloved Wife may have the care and Tuition of my two Daughters Sarah & Hannah Rogers and that my said Wife may have the Use & profits of their Negros & personal Estate to bring them up til they are Marry'd or of Lawfull Age. Item, My Will and desire is

that in case my said Wife or any other person whom she shall appoint after her death to have the care of my two Daughters the said Sarah & Hannah Rogers til they come of age or married shou'd leave Virginia that she or they may have the liberty to sell their Land and Negros and take them along with them Paying my said Daughters their Mony when they come of age or Married as aforesaid And lastly I do Nominate/,/ Constitute and appoint my dearly beloved Wife whole & sole Extrix of this my last Will and Testament. IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affix'd my seal this 16th. day of May in the Twelfth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second/,/ King of Great Britain &c. and in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand Seven hundred and thirty nine.

WM. ROGERS

L:S

Sign'd sealed/,/ published & declared
to be the last will & Testament
of the sd. Wm. Rogers in the presence
of

John Ballard
James Mitchell
Wm. Trotter.

At a Court held for York County Decr. the 17th. 1739

This last will and Testament of Wm. Rogers Mercht. decd. was this
day presented in Court by Theodosia Rogers the Extrix therein
appointed who made Oath to it and being proved by the Oath of John
Ballard & Wm. Trotter two of the witnesses who also making Oath that
they saw James Mitchell sign his name as a witness thereto. It was
order'd to be recorded and at a Court held for York County, Feby.
the 18th. 1739//40/ this 'sd. will was proved by James Mitchell.

Test

Matt Hubard Cl C/ur/

Exa

B. INVENTORY AND APPRAISAL OF WILLIAM ROGERS' ESTATE²

Pursuant to an order of York Court Decr. the 17th. 1739
We the Subscribers being first Sworn before Wm. Nelson junr.
Gent. have appraised the Estate of Capt. Wm. Rogers decd.
as followeth

Vizt.

Waterford £25. Betty £25 Adam £30 Blackwall £30	£110. 0. 0
Nanny £18. Lazarus Son of Nanny £5	23. 0. 0
Amy Daugher of Nanny £16 Grace Daughter of Nanny £8	24. 0. 0
Barnaby £15. Samson £25 Quaqua £25 Tony £30	95. 0. 0
Jo £30 York £25. Jack £25. George £22. Tom £30	132. 0. 0
Monmouth £30 London £30 Ben £30 Pritty £30	120. 0. 0
Phillis £25 Sarah £30 Harry £25 Lucy £12	92. 0. 0

Carry'd up	£596. - . -
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Brot. up	£956. 0. 0
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Little Nanny £25 Pheeby £20 Phill son of Pheeby £5	50. 0. 0
Frank Daughter of Phoeby £8 Chloe £15 Kate £12 Nole £15	50. 0. 0
Cato £20 James £18 Peg £16	54. 0. 0

Household Goods &c

1 Clock £6 one Silver hilt Cutting Sword and one pr. Silver Spurrs 4£	10. 0. 0
1 Tea pott 5 Spoons 2 pt. Cans and 2 Salts of Silver To a parcel China ware £10 a pcel Glasses & 1 Tabl. Stand £1.10.-	11.16. 0 11.10. 0
a pcel books £4. a pcel Sheets Table Linnen and one wt. Quilt 22£	26. - . -
1 Silver Salver 1 pt. Can 2 Salts 11 Spoons and one Soop Do.	14. - . -
1 Silver Watch £4 one horse Colt £4 a Coach & 4 horses £40	48. - . -
a Neat Picture of King Charles the Second	2.10. 0
1 Marble Table £2 one Corner Cup board wth. a glass face 20/	3. - . -

1 Looking Glass £1.10	1 pr. Glass Sconces 15/	2. 5. 0
1 Chimney Glass wth. a pr. brass arms £2	a japand corner Cupboard 15/	2.15. 0
12 Chairs wth. Walnut frames & Cane bottoms		5. -. -
1 Dutch picture in a guilt frame		0.10. 0
7 Cartoons	4 glass Pictures 4 Maps & 3 small Pictures	1. 5. 0
1 large Walnut Table £1.15	one less Do. 20/	2.15. 0
1 small Table & one Tea board 5/	one Iron back 12/	0.17. 0
1 pr. And Irons 20/	one Iron fender 1 pr. Tongs & Shovel fire 7/6	1. 7. 6
1 Iron plate frame 7/6	8 China Pictures in large frames 8/	0.15. 6
1 Copper Cistern 13/	12 Ivory handle knives & fords £1.10	2. 3. 0
11 Eboney Do. 12/6	12 Desart Do. wth. Ivory handles 12/	1. 4. 6
4 Window Curtins & Vallins £1.10	one small Cherry Table 6/	1.16. 0
2 Mares & one Colt £5	a pcel of Carpenters Tools £2.10	7.10. 0
27 head Cattle £17	ten high back Chairs wth. rush bottoms £1.10	18.10. 0
1 Bed Bolster pillow Bedsted	1 pr. blankets & Quilt	3. -. -
2 small pine Tables		0. 4. 0
1 large Bed Bolster	1 pillow 1 pr. blankets Bedsted Curtain rod, workt Curtains & Vallens	7. -. -
1 Bed Bolster	2 pillows 1 pr. blankets 1 old Quilt old blue Hangings & Bedsted	4. -. -
1 Looking Glass 20/	2 pr. window Curtains 10/ 1 pr. Sconces 6/	1.16. 0
1 pr. large mony Scales & weights 12/6	1 pr. less do. 5/	0.17. 6
1 pr. small Do. 2/6	5 rush bottom Chairs wth. black frames 7/6	0.10. 0
a Chimney piece 10/	52 pictures in the Hall 10/	1. -. -
1 Couch Squab and pillow 20/	1 japand Tea Table 5/	1. 5. 0
1 small pine Table 1/	2 walnut Stools 3/	0. 4. 0
1 Chimney Glass 1£	one pr. Sconces 7/6 1 Dressing Table 2/	1.09. 6
1 Looking Glass wth. Drawers 20/	one Iron back 6/	1. 6. 0

1 pr. And Irons 7/6	1 pr. Tongs & fire Shovel 4/	0.11. 6
1 brass fender 5/	1 Case wth. Drawers 1.5	1.10. 0
1 pr. Backgammon Tables 12/6	1 Tea Chest & Cannisters 6/	0.18. 6
1 Dressing Box 5/	1 Trumpet 5/	1 large Elbow Chair 7/6
		0.17. 6
	Carry'd over	L
	Brot. over	L
A Dutch Picture in a guilt frame		- . 2. 0
1 Bed Bedsted Bloster	2 pillows	1 blanket
	1 Quilt	
Curtains Vallins & Curtain rod		6. 0. 0
1 Bedsted wth. Sacking bottom		0.12. 6
1 small Bed & one pillow		1.10. 0
1 Dram Case & 6 bottles 12/6	2 pr. window Curtains 10/	1. 2. 6
1 Copper preserving pan 10/	1 pr. large pistols 15/	1. 5. 0
1 pr. Holsters 5/	1 pr. holster Caps & housing laced	
	and flower'd with Silver 20/	1. 5. 0
14 bottles Stoughton's Elixir 14/	6 lb. Chocolate 18/	1.12. 0
20 lbs. Cocoa Nuts £2	50 Ells Ozenbrigs £2.10	4.10. 0
15 1/2 yds. Duroy	9 Sticks twist	2 hhs Silk
	5 doz Coat	
	and 2 doz brest buttons	2. 0. 0
3 Cloth brushes 3/	28 Maple handle knives 5/10	0. 8.10
10 Yard Caps 2/6	3 horn books 6d	3 Baskits 4/
		0. 7. 0
1 Iron back in the work room 5/	1 D. in the little	
	Chamber 6/	0.11. 0
1 Iron fender	1 pr. Tongs & fire shovell 5/	1 pr.
	Andirons 2/	0. 7. 0
5 brass Candle Sticks	2 Tinder boxes & 1 Iron Candle	
	Stick 14/	0.14. 0
1 Flasket and a parcel	Turners Tools	0.18. 0
8 pr. Negros Shoes £1.4	72 yds Cantaloon £1.4	2. 8. '0
11 yds Coarse Stuff 5/6	1 old Desk 20/	1 Cedar press 15
		2. 0. 6
13 Cannisters 3/6	16 Tin patty pans	12 Cake Do.
	2 Bisket Do.	12 Chocolate Do.
	2 Coffee pots and	
	1 Funnell 11/6	0.15. 0
1 Box Iron & 2 heaters 5/	1 Coffee Mill 4/	0. 9. 0
1. 2 hour Glass 1/	5 broad hows 13/	1 Spining wheel 5/
		0.19. 0

2 pr. flat Irons 6/ 1 Trooping Saddle blue housing [?]	
Crooper & Brest plate 20/	1. 6. 0
An Ozenbrig Skreen 10/ 1 small pine Chest 2/6	0.12. 6
1 Walnut Table 12/6 5 Candle Moulds 7/6	1. -. -
1 Bark Sifter 5/ 10 Pictures 4/ 1 Cold Still 12/6	1. 1. 6
1 pr. Stilliards 7/6 12 New Sickles 12/ 10 old Dr. 2/6	1. 2. 0
2 Wyer Seives and 1 hair Sifter 7/6 1 Case wth. 14 bottles 15/	1. 2. 6
1 Bell Metal Skillet 12/ 1 pr. brass Scales & weights 10/	1. 2. 0
1 Coffee roaster 4/ 1 fire Shovell 1 pr. Tongs & 1 Iron fender 3/	0. 7. 0
6 wooden Chairs and 1 old Cane Do.	0. 8. 0
1 pewter Ink Stand 2/6 1 Tea Kettle 5/	0. 7. 6
2 Trivets 2 pr. Sheep Sheers and 1 pr. Bellows 5/	0. 5. 0
1 warming pan 5/ 20 doz. Quart bottles 2£ 1 Whip Saw 20/	3. 5. 0
3 Empty Casks and 2 beer Tubbs 7/6	0. 7. 6
2 powdering Tubbs and 1 large Cask	0. 6. 0
a Meal Binn 3/ 3 Spitts 9/ 1 worm Still £2.10	3. 2. 0
4 Wheel barrows 8/ 3 Spades 7/ a Copper Kettle £2.10	3. 5. 0
1 large Iron pott 12/6 1 Iron Kettle 15/ 1 Flasket 1/6	1. 9. 0
1 Iron pott 1/6 1 Bed Bolster Bedsted 1 rugg & 1 Blanket £1/10	1.11. 6
<hr/>	
Carry'd up	£
Brot. up	£
1 Bed Bolster Bedsted Blanket and 1 old Quilt	-.17. 6
1 old Table 1/6 6 oxen ox Cart Yokes & Chains	13. -. -
80 lb. Ginger 10/ 24 lb. Alspice £1.4 55 lb. rice 5/	1.19. 0
50 lb. Snakeroot £1.5 34 lb. hops 17/ 124 lb. feathers £5.3.4	7. 5. 4
a pcel old Sails & riging	13. -. -
a pr. large Scales & weights £2.10 a pcel crakt red ware £2	4.10. 0
a parcel crakt Stone Do. £5 1 pocket bottles 3/8	5. 3. 8
1/2 barrel Gun powder £2.10 1 old Sain and ropes £1.10	4. -. -
1 horse Mill £8 2300 lb. old Iron £9.11.8	17.11. 8

26 doz. qt. Mugs £5.4	60 doz. pt. Do. £7.10	12.14. 0
11 doz. Milk pans £2.4	9 large Cream potts 4/6	2. 8. 6
9 Midle Sized Do. 3/	12 small Do. 2/	0. 5. 0
2 doz. red Sauce pans 4/	2 doz. porringers 4/	0. 8. 0
6 Chamber potts 2/	4 doz. bird bottles 12/	0.14. 0
3 doz. Lamps 9/	4 doz. small stone bottles 6/	0.15. 0
4 doz. small dishes 8/	6 doz. puding pans 2/	0.10. 0
26 Cedar pailles £2.12	40 bushels Salt £4	6.12. 0
104 lb. pewter in Dishes & plates		5. 4. 0
1 Gallon 1 2 qt. 1 qt. 1 pt. & 1 1/2 pt. pewter pott		0.16. 0
1 pewter Bed pan 5/	12 Sheep £3	3. 5. 0
6 washing Tubbs 12/	1 Chocolate pott & Mill 6/	0.18. 0
6 Tea Spoons & a Childs Spoon of Silver		1. -. -
7 Bell Glasses 16/	1 Kitchen jack 26/	2. 2. 0
1 pr. Andirons 15/	1 large Copper pott & cover 30	2. 5. 0
1 less Do. 17/6	1 Marble Mortar 12/6	1.10. 0
1 Bell Metal Do. and 1 Iron pestle		0.10. 0
2 large knives 1 Choping Do. 1 Basting Ladle 1 Brass Skimer 1 pr. small Tongs and flesh fork		0. 5. 0
1 Copper Stew pan 1 Copper & 1 Iron frying pan 1 Tin fish Kettle		0.14. 0
1 Brass Skillet and 2 Tin Covers		0. 9. 0
1 Iron Crow and 1 large Pestle		0. 8. 0
1 Water pail 1/6 1 Iron pott 1 pr. hooks & 1 Iron Ladle 6/	0. 7. 6	
1 larger Iron pot & hooks 6/	1 horse Cart & wheels £3	3. 6. -
1 old whip Saw 10/ 1 Set old Chain harness for 3 horses 20/		1.10. 0
1 Set Do. for 3 horses £4	8 Iron Wedges 12/6	4.12. 6
1 Bay horse £1.5	1 pr. wooden Scales 2/ 2 Baskets 2/6	1. 9. 6
1 old horse Cart £1.5	212 bushels wheat @ 1/6 £15.18	17. 1. 0
1 old Boat 10/ a New Sloop Boat Sails Riging 2 Anchors 2 Cables 1 old Hawser and 1 Grapnell		90. -. -
1 Glass Light 3/ 2 Wyer Sieves 7/6		0.10. 6
		<u>£1224. 5. 6</u>

John Ballard

John Trotter

Ishamael Moody

At a Court held for York County Febry the 18th 1739[/40]
This Inventory & Appraisment of the Estate of Wm. Rogers decd.
was this day retd. to Court and order'd to be recorded.

Test

Matt Hubbard Cl Cur

Exa

C. ACCOUNT AND SETTLEMENT OF WILLIAM ROGER'S ESTATE³

Dr. The Estate of Capt. William Rogers decd.

1739

October.	29	To 2 Gallons of Madeira Wine	Cyder	L	1. 1. 3
Novr.	6	Cash Mrs. Thomson's Attendance			0. 5. 0
	8	Do. for 2 Nurses 40/. Novr. 26 Do. paid Ben. Hanson 30/.			3.10. 0

1739/40

Janry	18	Cash for wine sugar run & Cyder for the Out Cry			3.10. 0
Febry	4	Cash Fra. Moss Cryer			3. 4. 6
	9	Do. Mrs. Read for rend			3. -. -
	18	Do. Matthew Langston			1. -. -
	28	Dr. Mr. Parks Advertiseing the Goods & 2 qr. blank bonds			0.13. -
Mar	14	Cash paid Edmund Smith			0. 7. 2
	17	Do. paid Dr. Wharton a Visit & Chair hire			1.16. -
	18	Cash paid Richard Smith			0.12. -
	20	Do. Revd. Mr. Fontaine a Sermon			2. -. -

1740

	26	Do. paid Edward Potter			1. 5. -
	29	Do. his Sons Expences going over the river to settle wth. Noyel			0. 8. 9
Apr.	1	Do. paid Mrs. Ann Gibbons. Bread			1. 9. 4 1/2
	5	Do. Mary Phillips Making Cloaths			1.14. 6
	10	Do. Mrs. Packe for Mourning			0.14. 6
	12	Do. Mrs. Matthews for Schooling			2. -. -
May	2	Do. paid Dr. Gilmer			0.18. 8
	20	Do. paid Mr. Needler a fee			1. 1. 8

June	17	Do. Wm. Harwood Ferryman	1.10. 8
	18	Do. John Worledge	0. 6. 9
July	10	Do. Jones Irwin for Levies	2.16. 2
	12	Do. Aaaron Phillips 917 lb Tobo. Levies	6.17. 6
	14	Do. Fra. Moss Levies	5.19. 9
Augst.	2	Do. Mr. Amblers ballance	3. 2. 4-3/4
	18	Do. Miles Cary for Plank	1.10. -
	30	Do. Henry Walters	0.10.10
Octobr.	31	Do. Wm. Dudley	0.13. 0
/1741/			
Mar.	10	Dr. Wm. Sherington Shaving your Son	1. -. -
	20	Cash paid James Mitchell	0.16. 5 1/4
	28	Do. Benja. Catton	2.19.11 1/2
Apl.	1	Do. Colo. Lightfoot ballr. his accot.	31. 8. 9 1/2
	3	Do. Cash paid John Trotter ballr. his accot. 90 lb. Tobo. appra: the Goods a 2d. Pr. C	5.16. 2 1/2
	10	Cash paid Everard Dowsing	0. 9.11
		Do. paid Do. & Law. Gibbons work Pr agreemt.	3. 4. -
	16	Cash paid John Alleson	5. -. 6
	17	Do. paid Quitrents	0. 1. 4
	18	Do. paid Capt. Thos. Reynolds	<u>55.10. 8 1/2</u>
		Carry'd Up	E 161. 1. 3 1/2
		Brot. Up	E 161. 1. 3 1/2
Apl.	20	To Cash paid Mat. Hubbard	2. 4.10
		Do. Capt. Ballard ballr of his accot.	24.19. 9 1/4
	25	Do. Doctr. Dixon Physic & Goods	33. 5. 3
	26	Dr. Mr. Nelsons ballr his accot.	32. 6. 2
	29	260 lb Tobo. at 14/ Pr Ct	1.16. 5

May	4	Cash paid Mr. Parks for Gazettes	1. 7. 6
		Do. paid Mr. Hacker	0.17. 4 1/2
	21	Do. Mr. Nelson for Buckannon	1.14. 8 1/4
		Do. paid Capt. Nisbet	0.15. 4 1/2
	28	Do. Doctr. Payras	3.16. 3
June	4	Do. paid Mr. Butterworth	0.16. 8
		Do. paid Aaron Phillips buildg a house for Capt. Reynolds	24. -. -
Novr.	14	Cash paid Mrs. Williams	1. -. -
Decr.	2	Do. revd. Mr. Hewitt	0.13. 4
1742		Do. Mr. Moody for wood	0. 6. 3
Septr.	6	Do. paid Colo. Braxton	3. 4. 9 1/2
1743		Do. Mr. Waller for a fee	0.15. -
May	16	Do. Doctr. Potter Pr ord. of Court	32.14. 8
	17	219 lb Tobo. paid Moss	1.12. 9 1/2
		Cash paid Ben. How Pr Note	0.13. 1 1/2
Augst.	9	Do. paid Fred: Abbott	4. -. -
		Do. Sundry Mournings of Colo. Lightfoot	2. 5. 9
		To Henry Weatherburne	0.13. 6
		To Sundries to finishing the House I now live in	58.13. 5
		a Lawyers fee against Potter	0.15. -
		To Cash paid Arthur Vanner	0.18. 7 1/2
			<hr/>
			397. 7.10
		Ballance due to the Estate	172. -. 8
			<hr/>
			E 569. 8. 6

1739/ /40 /	Cr.			
Janry.	24	By 40 barrels old Corn 52 New Do.	21. - . -	
Febry.	28	By Cash of Mrs. Sarah Packe	6.11. 6	
1740				
Apl.	24	Do. of Capt. Harwood	0.10.11	1/2
July	16	Do. of Thos. Goosley	3. - . -	
	21	Do. of Majr. Meade	5.14. -	
Septr.	15	Do. of Saml. Rogers	3. 5. -	
Novr.	27	Do. of Mr. Anthony Walke	0.14. -	
Janry.	20	Do. of Colo. Bassett	0.15. -	
Mar.	18	Do. of Mat Kemp	2.10. -	
1741				
Apl.	9	Do. of Majr. William Claiborne	8.19. 4	
May	20	Do. of Capt. John Wise	16. - . -	
July	23	Do. of John Frazer	<u>5. 3. 6</u>	
		Carry'd Over	£ 74. 3. 3	1/2
		Brot. Over	74. 3. 3	1/2
1742				
		By Cash recd. for the Goods sold at Out Cry	363.18. 6	1/2
June	20	Do. of Thomas Beven	2. 9. 5	
Augst.	16	Do. of Wm. Noyell Pr Ordr. of the Genl. Court	27. 8. 4	
Septr.	25	Do. of Charles Brown Pr Ordr. of Court	3. - . -	
		Do. of John Marshall £77.13. 5 Sterling 20 Pr Ct. 15.10. 8	93. 4. 1	
		By Cash of Samuel Rogers	<u>5. 4.10</u>	
		Errors Excepted	£ 569. 8. 6	
<p>Sept. 14th 1743 Pr Theodocia Rogers</p>				

IN PURSUANCE of an order of York Court We have Settled the Accot. of the Estate of Capt. Wm. Rogers decd. and do report the sum of one hundred and seventy two pounds & Eight pence to be due to the said Estate. Septr. 14th. 1743.

Richd. Ambler

Wm. Nelson junr.

John Ballard

At a Court held for York County

Septr. the 19th. 1743

This Settlement of the Estate of Capt. Wm. Rogers decd. was this day ret'd. to Court and Order'd to be recorded And that the Sum of Ten pounds be paid out of the ballance thereof to Theodocia Rogers for her necessary Expences & Trouble about the Estate. Exam

Test

Matt Hubbard Cl Cur

D. WILL OF THEODOSIA ROGERS⁴

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN I Theodosia Rogers of the Parish of Yorkhampton in the County of York in Virginia Widow being Sick and Weak of Body but of sound and perfect Sence and Memory thanks to Almighty God for the same do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all other Wills by me heretofore made. First I recommend my Soul to God who gave it [to] me and my Body to the Earth to be buried at the discretion of my Executor hereafter named -- and as to Settling of my Temporal Estate which it hath pleased God to bless me with I give and dispose of in the manner following I Give Devise and Bequeath all my Estate both Real and Personal and all the Remainders and Reversions of any Estate to me limitted or -- -- descending in England or elsewhere to my loving Son in Law -- William Montgomery of the Parish of Yorkhampton in the County of York in Virginia Merchant to him and his Heirs forever. And Lastly, I do nominate Constitute and Appoint my said Son in Law William Montgomery whole and sole Executor of this my last Will & Testament IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Affixed my Seal this twenty seventh day of March in the twenty fifth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the second of Great Britain -- France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c and in the Year of our Lord Christ One thousand seven hundred and fifty two.

Theodosia Rogers (L. S.)

Signed Sealed Published and Declared
as an for her last Will and Testament
in the Presence of us who Subscribe our
Names in the Presence of the Testatrix.

Wm. Stevenson

James Mitchell

Owen Pugh.

At a Court held for York County the 15th. day of June 1752.
This Will was proved by the Oaths of William Stevenson, James
Mitchell and Owen Pugh the Witnesses Thereto Sworn to by William
Montgomery the Executor therein Named and Ordered to be recorded
And on the Motion of the said Executor who together with William
Stevenson and James Mitchell his Securities entered into and --
Acknowledged Bond as the Law directs Certificate was granted
him for obtaining Probat in due form.

Teste

Thos. Everard Cl: Cur:

Examd.

E. INVENTORY AND APPRAISAL OF THEODOSIA ROGERS' ESTATE⁵

IN OBEDIENCE to an Order of York County Court dated June 15th. 1752 We the Subscribers having been first Sworn before Dudley Digges Junr. Gent a Justice of the Peace of this County did Appraise in Current Money the Slaves and Personal Estate of Theodosia Rogers decd. as followeth Vizt.

1 Small Mahogany Table 40/. 1 Small black Walnut Do. 12/6. 1 Do. 12/.	£ 3. 4. 6
2 Looking Glasses £4.10/. 1 Corner Cupboard 15/. 1 Clock £7.	12. 5. -
1 Silver Can 1 Salver 11 Spoons 1 Soop Spoon & 1 Pap Spoon qt. oz. dwt. 52. 8 a 7/6.	19. 8. 6
6 Tea Spoons and Strainer and Tongs	1.10. -
A Parcel of China & Glass £ 10 - 1 Tea board 3/.	10. 3. -
10 flag bottomed Chairs red frames 20/. 7 Do. 10/.	1.10. -
A Parcel Small Pictures 5/. 2 large Do. 20/.	1. 5. -
1 Chest Drawers £ 2. 10/. 3 Feather Beds £8.	10.10. -
2 Bedsteads £2. 1 Do. with two suits Curtains £ 6	8. -. -
5 Blankets £ 1. 6/. 2 Bed Quilts 30/. 2 Counterpanes 30/.	4. 6. -
3 pairs Sheets £ 6 6 Pillows £ 1.6/. 1 pr. Backgammon Tables 5/.	7.11. -
1 Plate Warmer 7/6. one 15 Gallon Kettle 40/. 1 Kitchen Jack 50/.	4.17. 6
4 Spits 21/6. 1 Spice Morter & Pestle 3/. 10 Pewter Dishes 25/.	2. 9. 6
22 old Pewter Plates 17/6. 2 Trunks 15/. 1 pr. Kitchen Doggs 20/.	2.12. 6
2 pr. Irons in the House 17/6. 4 flat Irons 2/. 1 Box iron & Heater 2/6	1. 2. -
6 Mince Pye Pans 3/9. 6 Tart Pans 3/. 2 Deal Tables 2/.	0. 8. 9
1 Plate Basket 1/6. 1 Earthen Bread Pot 3/. 1 Coffee Mill 2/6.	0. 7. -

3 red Earthen Pots 3/9. 1 Picture with Coat of Arms 5/.	0. 8. 9
1 pair Candlesticks & Snuffers 7/6. 1 Sett Crewets 7/6	0.15. -
A Parcel Books £3. 1 Copper & 2 Iron Pots 25/. 4 Cows & 1 Calf £ 6. 10/.	<u>10.15. -</u>
	£ 103. 9. -

Negros			
Waterford	£30	Betty	£45
Pegg & her Child Betty	£ 60		
60 Lucy & her Child Phillis	£ 65		<u>200. -. -</u>
			£ 303. 9. -

John Gibbons
Robt. Sheild junr.
James Pride

Returned into York County Court the 17th. day of August 1752 and
Ordered to be recorded.

Teste

Thos. Everard Cl: Cur:

Examd.

F. WILL OF THOMAS REYNOLDS⁶

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN I Thomas Reynolds of Yorkhampton Parish in the County of York and Colony and Dominion of Virginia being in tolerable health of Body and in perfect Sound sence and Memory thanks to Almighty God for it do make Constitute and Appoint this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following IMPRIMIS I lend unto my dearly beloved Wife Susanna Reynolds during her natural Life All my whole Estate Real and Personal wheresoever lying or being after paying my just Debts and after her decrease I Give and bequeath it as followeth. Item I Give and bequeath unto my Daughter Anne Reynolds one Negro Wench named Chloe and her Son Emanuel and also one Negro Girl named Daphne Also Five hundred Pounds Current Money of Virginia to be paid her at lawful Age or day of Marriage by my Executors hereafter to be named Provided my Wife should be dead and they then have my Estate in Possession and in case my said Daughter dies before of Age as above or is Married her part of my said Estate to be divided between my Daughter Susanna and my Son William Share and Share alike. ITEM I Give and bequeath unto my Daughter Susanna Reynolds one Negro Woman named Phoebe and her Daughter Mary and one Negro Girl named Flora also Five hundred Pounds Current Money of Virginia to be paid her at lawful Age or Day of Marriage by my Executors to be hereafter named Provided my Wife should be then dead and they have my Estate in Possession - and in case my Daughter dies before she is of lawful Age or Married her part of my Estate to be divided between my Son William Reynolds all the rest and residue of my Estate wheresoever lying or being to him and his Heirs forever and my Will and desire is

that all my Personal Estate Negros Stock a parcel of Land at Chiscake bought of Huett and all other my Lands except my Houses and Lotts in York Town where I now live (which I desire may be Leased out until my Son is of lawful Age) may be Sold at such convenient Times as may best Suit the Interest of my sd. Estate and when Sold the moneys to be put out to interest on good Securities for the bringing up [of] my Son William in a plain and decent way as my Executors shall see it will afford and would have him Educated in Writing and Accounts and the most useful branches of the Mathematicks as Geometry Trigonometry Gaugeing Dialing Surveying Gunnery &c with a knowledge of the French Tongue if to be got as far as time will permit until he is of proper Age to put out [as] an Apprentice when I desire if it Suits his inclination to have him bound to a good trading Merchant such as Trade to Sea &c or not liking that to any other Creditable business my Executors shall think most convenient but in case my said Son dies before he Attains the Age of twenty one Years I desire his part of my Estate may go to my Daughters Ann and Susanna and their Heirs meaning their Children in case of their decease and in case one Dies and leaves no Child or Children the other and her Child or Children to Inherit but in case both should die without leaving Child or Children in that case I beg my Executors will divide that part of my Estate between John Rogers a Child now living with me and the Children of my near kinsman Humphry Hill share and share alike AND LASTLY I do Nominate Constitute and Appoint my good and welbeloved Friends Mr. John Norton and Dr. David Jameson of York Town and Mr. Humphry Hill of King & Queen County Executors of this my last Will and Testament

Hopeing they will take upon them this Charitable Trust and I hereby revoke all former Wills by me made IN WITNESS hereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Affixt my Seal this 19ty. day of October Anno Domini 1756.

Thos. Reynolds (L. S.)

At a Court held for York County the 20th. day of August 1759

This Will was produced in Court by John Norton Gent one of the Executors and it appearing to the Court that the said Will and the Name thereto subscribed are all of the proper hand Writing of the Testator the said John Norton took the Oath of an Executor and the said Will was Ordered to be recorded And on the Motion of the said John Norton who together with John Palmer Gent his Security entered into and acknowledged Bond as the Law Directs Certificate was granted him for obtaining a Probat thereof in due form Liberty being reserved to the other Executors to Join in the Probat when they shall think fit and At a Court held for the said County the 19th day of November 1759 David Jameson another of the Executors Named in the said Will took the Oath of an Executor and together with Robert Smith and Anthony Robinson his securities entered into and acknowledged Bond as the Law directs and Certificate was granted him to be Joined in the Probat.

Teste

Thos. Everard Cl: Cur:

Examd.

G. INVENTORY AND APPRAISAL OF THOMAS REYNOLDS ESTATE⁷

The Appraisement of the Estate of Capt. Thomas Reynolds decd

To 38 Shallow Pewter and 11 Soup Do. Plates at 20/ a dozen	£ 4- 1- 8
14 pewter dishes new and 5 old Do. 50/ 1 Cullender 15/	3- 5-
1/2 dozen water Plates 1 Tureen and 1 old Cullender	1-
2 dish Covers. 1 dutch Oven, bread Grater and coffee pott	12- 6
1 Copper Fish Kettle 2 do. Stewpans & 1 preserving do.	4-
3 Copper Kittles and 1 Iron do. ‡ 6. 10/ 4 Belmetal Skillets £ 3-10	10-
1 dripping Pan. Warming do. Tea kettle and Chocolate pot	1- 5-
4 pair Brass Candlesticks 1 Morter and pestill 2 pair snuffers	1-10-
4 Iron Pots 2 frying Pans 2 pr. Potthooks	1-10-
3 pottracks, 1 pair large and Irons 2 spits 1 Chafing disk 1 flesh fork 1 grid Iron 1 pr tongs	2-10-
1 plate warmar 2 plate baskets 1 knife Do. 1 pr. bellows	1-
3 pair Flatt Irons and 1 Box Iron 20/ 1 Marble Mortar 10/	1-10-
1 Bed Bedsteads Matrass 1 pair Sheets Counterpane and curtains	13-
1 Table dressing Glass 6 chairs Shovel tongs and fender	1-15-
1 Bed Bedstead Matrass and Counterpane	8-
a Small Bed Matrass 2 Qui[	2-10-
2 Chests 1 Trunk 1 p[B]lankets £5	6-10-
2 Turkey & 1 Scotc[] 3 Chests 10/	9-10-
1 Bed Bed[	20-

1 desk a[	3-
[	1-10-
[	3-
[	7-10-
[	-10-
[	12-
1 Large Mahogany Table and small China do. & 1 Scollop Table	6-
2 large Glasses £ 6 1 pr. Window Curtains and 2 Baskets 20/	7-
1 pair And Irons and 3 Blinds	1- 5-
1 Mahogony Table, Couch and 1 dozen Chairs	5-
1/2 dozen pictures, Glass Lanthorn & Spy Glass	2-
1 Bed Bedstead Sheets, Quilts, and 1 Suit Curtains	13-
1 Beds Bedstead Sheets Counterpane and 2 Suits Curtains	13-
222 Ells Ozns, at 1/3 £ 13.17/6 70 Ells Rolls £ 3.	16-17- 6
6 Twill Baggs 20/ 2 ps. 3/4 Chex 47 yds at 1/2 54/10	3-14-10
2 pieces 7/8 Chex 49 yds at 2/ £ 4-18 1 pc Irish Linnen 25 yds £ 8	12-18-
2 damask Table Cloths (new) £ 3 1 doz diaper Table Cloths new £ 7	10-
1 ps. Napkin Do. Do. £ 4 1 ps. Rushia Linen say Wrapper 15/	4-15-
9 pair fine Sheets and 4 pair Course Do.	20-
4 Table Cloths (old) 1 dozen Napkins	7-10-
1 dozen Course damask Table Cloths	6-
4 pr. pillow Cases & 2 doz. Towells 30/ 4 Cotton Counterpane £ 6	7-10-
The Contents of the Beaufett	10-10-
1 dressing Table Glass Pistols & hangers. Fender, Tongs Shovel & Gun	10-

1 Desk 20/ The Contents of a Beaufett £5	6-
1 Mahogany Desk and Book Case £10 1 Large & 2 Small Table £5	15-
1 Clock 1 Glass £8 1 Large Chair and a parcel Books £7	15-
1 Silver Stand, Tankard 2 Mugs, 1 Waiter, 2 Salts, 1 doz Tea Spoons, 1 Large Soop [], Tea Tongs & Spoons.	25-
1 Coffee Mill, [] and Dram Case	4-
1 old Ca[]	1-
2 B[]	3-
1 Co[]hts	5-
4 [ ]	]-10-
[]	1-10-
[]	24-
2[ ]	]7-10-6
35 Ells of brown Rools 30/ 2 pieces Oznabrigs 209 Ells at 1/3 £ 12-1-3	14-11-3
2 Casks Nails 2 baggs do. 30d. & Sheathing £22 A bundle Iron Warre 40/	24-
9 hhds Rum about 900 Gall all at 5/	225-
a pair Large Grocery Scales and Weights	12-10-
a parcell Pump Boarers 10/ 3 Chests and a bundle hoops 10/	1-
4 Barrells Pork £10 8 m Shingles at 12/6 £5	15-
a Corn Screen 25/ 4 Ruggs at 12/6 50/ 2 Anchors £16	19-15
70 Bushells Salt at 2/6 £8-15 a pcl. Cordage in the Cellar 600 lb. 55/ £16-10	25- 5-
A new Main Sail £12 a parcel old Shrouds 910 lb at 2d. £7-11	19-11-
6 P Oars 2/6 15/ A parcel of Ocum 75 lb at 3d 1b 18/9	1-13- 9
A Swivel for Mouring 40/Twine handlines Logg Lines and Bunting 60/	5-

Negro Man Pretty £ 25	Negro Man Albraham £ 70	95-
Negro Man Bristol £ 25	Negro Man Jack £ 50	75-
Negro Man Harry £ 70	Negro Man Tony £ 25	95-
Negro Woman Pheby given Miss Sukey P Will £ 40		
Negro Woman blk Chloe £ 45		85-
Negro Women Little Chloe given Mrs. Savage P Will £ 60 Do. Cate £ 50		110-
Negro Woman Daphney given Mrs. Savage P. Will		60-
Negro Woman Flora Given Miss Suckey P Will		50-
Negro Boy Emanuel Given Mrs. Savage P Will		25-
Negro Girl Mary Given Miss Suckey P Will		25-
Negro Girl Betty (daughter of Cate) £ 15	Negro Girl Lucy daughter of Pheby £ 12	27-
A Jack 2/6 5 Horses Cart[]		35- 2- 6
1 Single Chair and []	ness £ 15	30-
Sundry at the Qu[]		20-
Harry L[]		78-
23 Cows []		27-10-
4 Bro[]		1-
[]		18-
		<hr/> [£ 1, 8] 06- 8- 6

In Obedience to an order of York Court we the subscribers have appraised the Estate of Captain Thomas Reynolds decd. and find the amount of the same to be one thousand eight hundred and Six pounds eight Shillings and Six Pence Current Money

Ed. Ambler
Nicholas Dickson
Robt. Shield

Returned into York County Court the 21st. day of June 1762 and Ordered to be Recorded

Teste

Thos. Everard Cl Cur.

H. WILL OF SUSANNA REYNOLDS⁸

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN I Susanna Reynolds of York Town []
]nty of York and Colony of Virginia Widow [b]eing
[] Body but of perfect and sound Sense Wi[]
be to Almighty God for it do ma[]ment in manner and
form fo[]win[] recomment my Soul to []
my Body to be decently Buried at the discretion of my Executor
hereafter named. ITEM I direct all my just Debts to be fully
paid and Satisfied. ITEM I give devise and bequeath to my Worthy
Friend David Jameson of the Town and County of York Mercht. the
Sum of Two hundred and fifty Pounds Current Money IN TRUST to
receive the Interest thereof and pay the same to my beloved
Daughter Anne Savage for and during the Term of her life to and
for her Sole and separate Use not subject to the Disposal or
Management of her present Husband and in case she shall live to
be a Widow then in trust to pay the said Two hundred and fifty
pounds to my said Daughter Ann on Demand for her own Use and to
be at her own disposal but in case she shall die in the lifetime
of her present Husband then in trust to pay the said Two hundred
and fifty pounds to such persons to whom she shall give direct
and appoint the same by any writing purporting her last Will and
Testament duly signed and executed by her to his her or their
own proper Use and behoof and in case my said Daughter shall die
as aforesaid without making such Will or appointment then, in
trust to pay the said Sum of Money to her legal Representatives.
ITEM I give devise and bequeath to the said David Jameson the
further Sum of two hundred and fifty pounds Current Money In trust
to receive the Instertest thereof and pay the same to my beloved

Daughter Susanna Reynolds for and during the Term of her life to and for her sole and separate use and not subject to the disposal or management of her first husband when she shall Marry and in case she shall live to be a Widow then in trust to pay the said Two hundred and fifty pounds to my said Daughter Susanna on demand for her own use and to be at her own disposal and in case she shall die unmarried or in the lifetime [] first Husband then in trust to pay the said Two hundred and []ds to such Person and Persons to whom the said Susanna by any writing purporting her last Will and Testament duly signed and executed by her shall give direct and appoint [] to his her or their own proper use and behoof forever an[] die [] foresaid without making such Will or appoi[] the said Sum of Money to her legal [] ITEM I devise [] Mo[] bequeathed for the Use of my s[] my Son William Reynolds when he shall arrive to the age of twenty two Years upon his giving his own Bonds to my Executor for the paiment of the said Sums and the Interest thereof according to the directions herein before given concerning the same. ITEM I direct my Executor to lay out the Sum of Twenty pounds Current Money in the Purchase of a likely Negroe Girl which Negro Girl and her Increase I give to my Grand Daughter Susanna Savage and to her Heirs forever. ITEM I give and devise to my beloved Son William Reynolds the House and Lott where I now live and all the rest and residue of my Estate real and Personal of what nature or kind soever which I shall die possessed of or any ways interested in or entitled to in any part of the World after my Debts and legacies are paid to him and

his Heirs forever to be delivered and paid to him when he shall attain the Age of twenty one Years and that in the mean time the Rents and Profits of such Estate to be received by my Exor. hereafter named and put out at Interest for my said Son's Use But it is my will that when he shall attain such Age he Confirm to his Sister Susanna a Negro Girl named Lucy Daughter to a Negro Woman named Phobe given to the said Susanna by the last Will and Testament of my late Husband Captn. Thomas Reynolds decd. which said Negro Lucy was born after the date of his said Will but was intended by my said Husband to have been given to the said Susanna and would have been given had he not died before he could alter his Will and if my said Son shall fail or refuse so to do I order and direct that he pay to his said Sister the Sum of One hundred and fifty Pounds Current Money at his coming of Age and in such case I do hereby subject the whole Estate herein before given to my said Son to the pay[]t of the said Sum of One hundred and fifty Pounds in lieu of [] Negro Lucy & as Compensation of her. AND lastly I constitute and appoint the []id David Jameson Executor of this my last Will and Testament revok[]g all other Wills by me heretofore made and as I have reason [] the utmost confidence in his probity and In[]rity [] he may not be held to give any Security to th[]hen this Will shall be proved IN []et my hand and affixed my Seal the twen[] our Lord 1767.

Susanna Reynolds (L. S.) Signed

SIGNED SEALED PUBLISHED and Declared by the Testatrix for her last Will and Testament in the presence of us who Witnessed the same in her Presence

Martha Goosley

Matthew Pope

Edward Cary

At a Court held for York County the 18th. Day of April 1768 This Will was proved according to Law by the Oaths of Martha Goosley, Matthew Pope and Edward Cary the Witnesses thereto and Ordered to be Recorded. And on the Motion of David Jameson the Executor therein named who made Oath thereto as the Law directs Certificate was granted him for obtaining a Probat in due form.

Teste

Thos. Everard Cl. Cur

Examd.

I. INVENTORY AND APPRAISAL OF SUSANNA REYNOLDS' ESTATE⁹

AN APPRAISMENT of the Estate of Mrs. Susannah Reynolds
Deceased

33 1/4 Bushels Indian Corn a @ 9/ brl	L	2-19-10
247 lb. Bacon @ 7 1/2d		7-14- 4
3 lb. Hyson Tea @ 25/		3-15-
35 Gals. Vinegar @ 6d.		17- 6
19 1/2 lb Lard @ 6d.		9- 9
3 1/3 Bushels Wheat @ 4/		14-
27 lb. Butter @ 7 1/2d		16-10
40 Ells Oznabg. @ 1/3		2-10-
14 1/4 Yrds figd. Russ. Twelling @ 9d.		10- 8.
3 1/2 yds Sheeting Linen @ 2/6		8- 9
16 Yrds Tearnought @ 3/6		2-15-
20 1/2 Ells Rolls @ 10d.		17- 1
1 1/2 yds white Plains @ 2/		3-
9 Dutch Blankets @ 10/		4-10-
27 lb. Soap @ 6d.		13- 6
5 lb. Candles @ 1/		5-
128 lb. Pickled Pork @ 1d.		2- 2- 8
9 1/2 lb. Coffee @ 1/6		14- 3
1 Milch Cow		3-15-
8 1/2 Galo. Molasses @ 2/		17-
2 Bottles Snuff @ 3/		6-
2 old Sack Bags @		<u>3- 9</u>
	L	38- 0- 0

PURSUANT to []aring date the 18th. day of April
1768. T[]orn have met and appraised []
of Mrs. Susannah Reynolds decreased agreeable to the above Schedule
April 19th. 1768.

Thos. Archer

William Cary

Edward Cary

RETURNED into York County Court the 15th. Day of August 1768, and
Ordered to be Recorded.

Teste

Thos. Everard Cl: Cur:

Examd.

APPENDIX II:

SERVANTS AND SLAVES OWNED BY WILLIAM ROGERS, 1710-1740

It is often impossible to determine the size and composition of the labor force owned by York County residents during this period. White indentured servants only served for a limited number of years and therefore may have been free by the time a will or inventory was made. Negro slaves were gradually replacing servants at this time and (if they lived long enough) were usually mentioned in probate documents. The only other records which enumerate laborers are tithable lists, and unfortunately none have survived for York County from 1700-1740.

It is possible to partially reconstruct an individual's labor force however by using scattered clues in the county records. Since so little is known about the workers William Rogers controlled, all of the pertinent references that were found are given below. Servants usually appeared in the records only if they ran away or otherwise broke the law. Recently imported Negro slaves however, were often brought before the court to have their ages recorded for tax purposes and all slaves were usually listed if an inventory was drawn up. William Rogers did have a number of servants, but by 1739 (just before his death) he seems to have owned only one. As his servants completed their terms he apparently replaced them by inventing in slave labor. The second part of this appendix combines information from his will and his inventory to provide a detailed description of his slave holdings at the time of his death.

A. References to Rogers's servants and slaves, 1710-1739

Elizabeth Ellerker - to serve additional time for running away and stealing from her master - November 1714.¹

One Negro - imported for William Rogers, possibly from London - sometime between 1710-1718.²

Scipio, a Negro boy - age adjudged by the court - March 1721.³

Harry and Rumford, Negro boys, and Phyllis, a Negro girl - ages adjudged by the court - July 1721.⁴

John Jones - to serve additional time for running away - September 1722.⁵

Samuel Cross and Thomas Queen - to serve additional time for running away - June 1723.⁶

Joe, a Negro boy - age adjudged by the court - January 1724.⁷

Betty, a Negro girl, and Tony, a Negro boy - ages adjudged by the court - June 1724.⁸

Thomas Waterhouse and Henry Ham - to serve additional time for running away - November 1727; Ham still serving in July 1732.⁹

Jack, a Negro boy - age adjudged by the court - September 1735.¹⁰

Servant man skilled as a carpenter - mentioned in will - March 1739.¹¹

William Barbasore - to be tried by the General Court for felonious theft - August 1739.¹²

B. Negro Slaves Named in Rogers's Will and Inventory¹³

MEN

Given to his wife Theodosia

Waterford	£25
Adam	£30
Blackwell	£30

to Son William

Joe	£30
Tony	£30
Harry	£25
George	£22
Tom	£30
Jack	£25
India Man Pritty	£30

to daughter Susanna

York	£25
London	£30

to daughter Sarah

Monmouth	£30
Ben	£30

to daughter Hannah

Barnaby	£15
Samson	£25
Quareo	£25

WOMEN AND THEIR CHILDREN

Given to his wife Theodosia

Betty	£25
Peggy	£16

to daughter Susanna

Phillis	£25
Chloe	£15
Kate	£12
Rachel	(not mentioned in the inventory)

to daughter Sarah

Phoeby	£20
Sary	£30
Nanny	£25
Cato	£20
Frank	£ 8
Phill	£ 5

to daughter Hannah

Nanny	£18
Amy	£16
Grace	£ 8
Lazarus	£ 5

UNATTACHED GIRLS AND BOYS

Given to wife Theodosia

Lucy	E12
Molly	E15

to daughter Susanna

Jimmy	E18
-------	-----

total	Men	17
	Women	4
	Children	12
	Girls and Boys	<u>3</u>
		36

APPENDIX III

CERAMIC CARGOES SHIPPED INTO AND OUT OF YORK RIVER, 1725-1750

Earlier accounts of the Yorktown pottery works suggested that William Rogers may have been exporting his wares to other colonies in North America. Because these speculations were largely based on fragmentary and condensed shipping reports published in the Virginia Gazette one author warned that such evidence "should be treated with some caution as goods were often imported from one place and later exported to another."²³

A large body of manuscript shipping lists has however, been preserved in England at the Public Record Office. These lists, often called the Naval Officers Returns, record detailed information on shipping into and out of many of the naval districts set up in the British colonies for administrative and tax purposes. In addition to noting dates, ship names, and the names of masters and owners, these lists also record ports of origin and destination and more importantly, descriptions of cargoes. Unfortunately, these lists have not survived for the York River district for the critical years from 1706 to 1724. Tables 1-3 however, contain the results of a study of the lists which do exist for the period 1725 to 1750. All vessels that listed ceramics as part of their cargo were included in these tabulations. In order to determine whether cargoes were imported and then simply shipped out again in the same hull, all vessels were divided into three categories: (1) those that did not declare any ceramics when they entered the York River but had some quantity on board when they left, (2) those that entered with ceramic cargoes, but did not declare any when they cleared the district, and (3) those that declared ceramics both when entering and leaving.

It is of course possible that cargoes were imported into Yorktown, unloaded, and then reloaded onto a different vessel and exported to another destination. This seems unlikely however,

since most cargoes of imported European goods were kept together for a consignee (and usually were described as European) and because most vessels in the exporting only category were small coastal craft that were owned and registered in Maryland, North Carolina, or Virginia. A number of New England vessels did import earthenware into Yorktown, but they also occasionally took away some wares made at the Yorktown pot house. The Friendship entered from New England in December 1733 with salt, codfish, cider, and earthenware. When she cleared the following February she carried pease, pork, wheat, and "a parcell of Virga. made Earthen ware."²⁴ In a few cases information could not be found on the cargoes brought in by vessels that left with ceramics because of missing lists. The William and John left Yorktown for Maryland in August 1730 with rice, pork, turpentine, and "118 dozn [P ?] wt Earthenware." The list recording this vessel's entry into port is missing, but we can be relatively confident that it was carrying wares made in Yorktown since it was owned by William Rogers.²⁵

As Tables 1-3 show, there were more vessels exporting earthenware or stoneware from Yorktown than there were bringing it in. It would also appear that William Rogers was most active in exporting his factory's products before 1735. Since the lists for 1710-1724 have not survived it is not possible to determine how early this trade began. From 1736 to 1740 however, the New England traders dominated and imported more ceramics into Yorktown than were taken out. Exporting activity picked up again from 1741 to 1745 and two vessels brought ceramic cargoes in and left with them on board, apparently unsold. After 1746 there is no further evidence of ceramics being either exported or imported. The most popular destinations for ceramics exported from Yorktown were Maryland and North Carolina, although some vessels did go to New England and the West Indies. Not surprisingly, the origin of most of the vessels that imported ceramics into the York River was New England.

The evidence found in these shipping records indicates that William Rogers was enjoying a steady, if small scale, export market for his wares before 1735. From 1725 to 1735 he seems to have

averaged one shipment a year and managed to compete successfully with the New England traders who brought in their own locally made wares. There seems to have been a reversal from 1736 to 1740, and more ceramics were imported than exported. After a brief increase in export activity during the five years following Rogers' death, all ceramic shipping seems to have stopped from 1746 to 1750. The short-lived increase in activity after 1740 may represent an attempt by a new manager to get the pottery factory going again, a new start that was doomed to fail.

TABLE 1

VESSELS SHIPPING CERAMICS INTO AND OUT OF YORK RIVER, VIRGINIA
1725-1750²⁶

Number of Vessels

<u>Years</u>	<u>Exporting Ceramics</u>	<u>Importing Ceramics</u>	<u>Importing & Exporting Ceramics</u>
1725-1730	4	0	1
1731-1735*	7	1	0
1736-1740*	2	4	0
1741-1745	3	1	2
1746-1750	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
1725-1750	16	6	3

*incomplete data

NOTE: In a few instances vessels were included in the exporting category even though they brought ceramics in because of evidence that they were taking out locally made wares, not the ones they brought in originally.

TABLE 2

DESTINATIONS OF VESSELS EXPORTING CERAMICS FROM YORK RIVER,
VIRGINIA 1725-1750

<u>Years</u>	<u>Maryland</u>	<u>North Carolina</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>West Indies</u>
1725-1730	2	1	1	0
1731-1735	3	1	2	1
1736-1740	0	1	0	1
1741-1745	1	1	0	1
1746-1750	0	0	0	0
1725-1750	6	4	3	3

TABLE 3
ORIGINS OF VESSELS IMPORTING CERAMICS INTO
YORK RIVER, VIRGINIA 1725-1750

<u>Years</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>South Carolina</u>
1725-1730	0	0
1731-1735	1	0
1736-1740	4	0
1741-1745	0	1
1746-1750	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
1725-1750	5	1

APPENDIX IV:

CIVIL COURT CASES IN THE YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA RECORDS INVOLVING WILLIAM ROGERS, 1714-1743

The county court in eighteenth-century Virginia performed a wide variety of administrative and judicial functions, and was the only legal body that most Virginians dealt with. The York County Court's decisions were recorded in order books which preserve a wealth of data on many debt, trespass, and other civil law cases. This rich source of information can however, present problems for the researcher, since most of the entries are brief, formalized, and fail to give the details needed to understand the court's actions.

During the twenty some years that William Rogers lived in York County he was involved, both as plaintiff and defendant, in as many lawsuits. Although the source of these disputes is not always apparent (an action of trespass for example could be brought to collect damages or a bad debt), several patterns emerge. In fifteen of the twenty cases calendared below Rogers (or his executors) acted as the plaintiff, and it appears that most of these cases involved debt collection. At least one and possible two of these lawsuits may have concerned the marketing of ceramics. In each of these cases listed below the plaintiff is named first, then the defendant and the date of the first and last mention of the matter in the court orders. This is followed by a description (as given in the records) of the issue being tried and the court's decision.

The interpretation of this information is still uncertain (see the discussion in chapters 3 and 5). It is included because additional research may uncover new evidence about some of the people involved that will enhance our understanding of these legal actions.

Mary Cary v Rogers, September 1714-January 1715: for covenant broken - Dismissed, neither party appearing.¹

Rogers v John Scott, February-July 1716: for £20 damages for trespass - Rogers fails to prosecute.²

Rogers v Estate of William Davis, August 1718: in action on the case - Dismissed, Rogers fails to prosecute.³

Rogers v Susanna Allen, September 1718-February 1719: for £3-17-0 due by note - Rogers wins judgment for the amount.⁴

Rogers v Robert Minge, September 1718-June 1719: for £35 damages for trespass - Dismissed, Rogers fails to prosecute.⁵

Rogers v Estate of John Baylor, September 1721-February 1722: for £31-15-6 due by account - Rogers wins judgment for the amount.⁶

Rogers v John Butterworth, May-June 1725: for £41-13-1/2 due by account - Court dismisses the difference between the parties.⁷

Rogers v Arthur Dickeson, August-September 1725: for £1-10-3 - Case is dismissed.⁸

Rogers v Alexander Wordie, September 1725-March 1726: for £34 in account of divers wares - Partial settlement awarded to Rogers of £5 and return of unsold wares.⁹

James Clark v Rogers, July 1727-June 1278: in action on the case - Dismissed, Clark fails to prosecute.¹⁰

Estate of Samuel Hunter v Rogers, August 1727-May 1728: for £10 damages - Jury awards Hunter's Estate £0-5-4.¹¹

Rogers v Thomas Fisher, May 1728: in a difference between - Dismissed.¹²

Rogers v John Mundell, February-May 1732: for debt - Court awards Rogers £6-11-¹³

Rogers v John Pasture, May 1732: in a difference between - Dismissed.¹⁴

Rogers v John White, July 1732-February 1733: for debt - Court gives Rogers an attachment for £1-4-9.¹⁵

Rogers v Samuel Spooner, May-June 1736: for £20 and damages in a trespass - Dismissed.¹⁶

Rogers v Richard Saunderson of North Carolina, June 1736: for bill due Rogers - Ordered certified by court.¹⁷

Estate of Rogers v Charles Brown, September 1741-February 1742: for damages for trespass - Court awards Rogers's Estate £3-10-2 1/2.¹⁸

Henry Potter, Physician v Estate of Rogers, December 1742-May 1743: for trespass - Jury awards Potter damages of £32-14-8; Potter acknowledged satisfaction received for all but £6-13-1 of this amount.¹⁹

Note: This list does not include lawsuits involving runaway servants.

NOTES TO APPENDIXES

1. Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 18 (1732-1740), 537-540.
2. Ibid., 553-557.
3. Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 19 (1740-1746), 226-228.
4. Wills and Inventories NO. 20 (1745-1759), 264.
5. Ibid., 269.
6. Ibid., 525-527.
7. Wills and Inventories No. 21 (1760-1771), 99-102.
8. Ibid., 407-410.
9. Ibid., 428-429.
10. "A List of all Ships and Vessells that have Imported Slaves into the District of York River together with the Number of Slaves Imported from the Tenth day of December 1710: to the Tenth Day of December 1718," C.O. 5/1320/6, P.R.O.
11. Orders and Wills No. 14 (1709-1716), 368.
12. Orders and Wills No. 16 (1720-1729), 25.
13. Ibid., 59.
14. Ibid., 156.
15. Ibid., 202.
16. Ibid., 248.
17. Ibid., 280.
18. Ibid., 489; Orders and Wills No. 17 (1729-1732), 296, 308.
19. Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 18 (1732-1740), 223.
20. Ibid., 537-5470 (See Appendix IA).
21. Ibid., 513-514.
22. Ibid., 537-540, 553-557 (See Appendixes IA and IB).
23. Watkins and Hume, "Poor Potter" of Yorktown, 110.
24. Naval Officer's Shipping lists for York River District, C.O. 5/1443/110, 112, P.R.O.
25. Ibid., C.O. 5/1443/68, P.R.O.

26. The data in Tables 1-3 was based on all of the lists of vessels entering and leaving York River from March 1725 to December 1750. These lists, along with those of other districts in Virginia, can be found in the Naval Officer's Shipping Lists, C.O. 5/1442/22-58, C.O. 5/1443/11-137, and C.O. 5/1444/1-36, P.R.O.

27. Orders and Wills No. 14 (1709-1716), 358, 378.

28. Ibid., 484, 494, 511; Orders and Wills No. 15 (1716-1720), 14.

29. Orders and Wills No. 15 (1716-1720), 307.

30. Ibid., 317, 357-358, 388-389.

31. Ibid., 318, 357, 388-389, 394, 439.

32. Orders and Wills No. 16 (1720-1729), 78, 80, 95, 110.

33. Ibid., 335, 344.

34. Ibid., 353, 356.

35. Ibid., 357, 363, 370, 377, 380.

36. Ibid., 469, 479, 481, 515, 528.

37. Ibid., 479, 484, 515.

38. Ibid., 517.

39. Orders and Wills No. 17 (1729-1732), 262- 275.

40. Ibid., 277.

41. Ibid., 302, 317; Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 18 (1732-1740), 5, 15.

42. Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 18 (1732-1740), 281, 293.

43. Ibid., 290.

44. Wills and Inventories [including Orders] No. 19 (1740-1746), 56, 64, 72, 79.

45. Ibid., 140, 148, 156, 173, 184-185.

As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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